

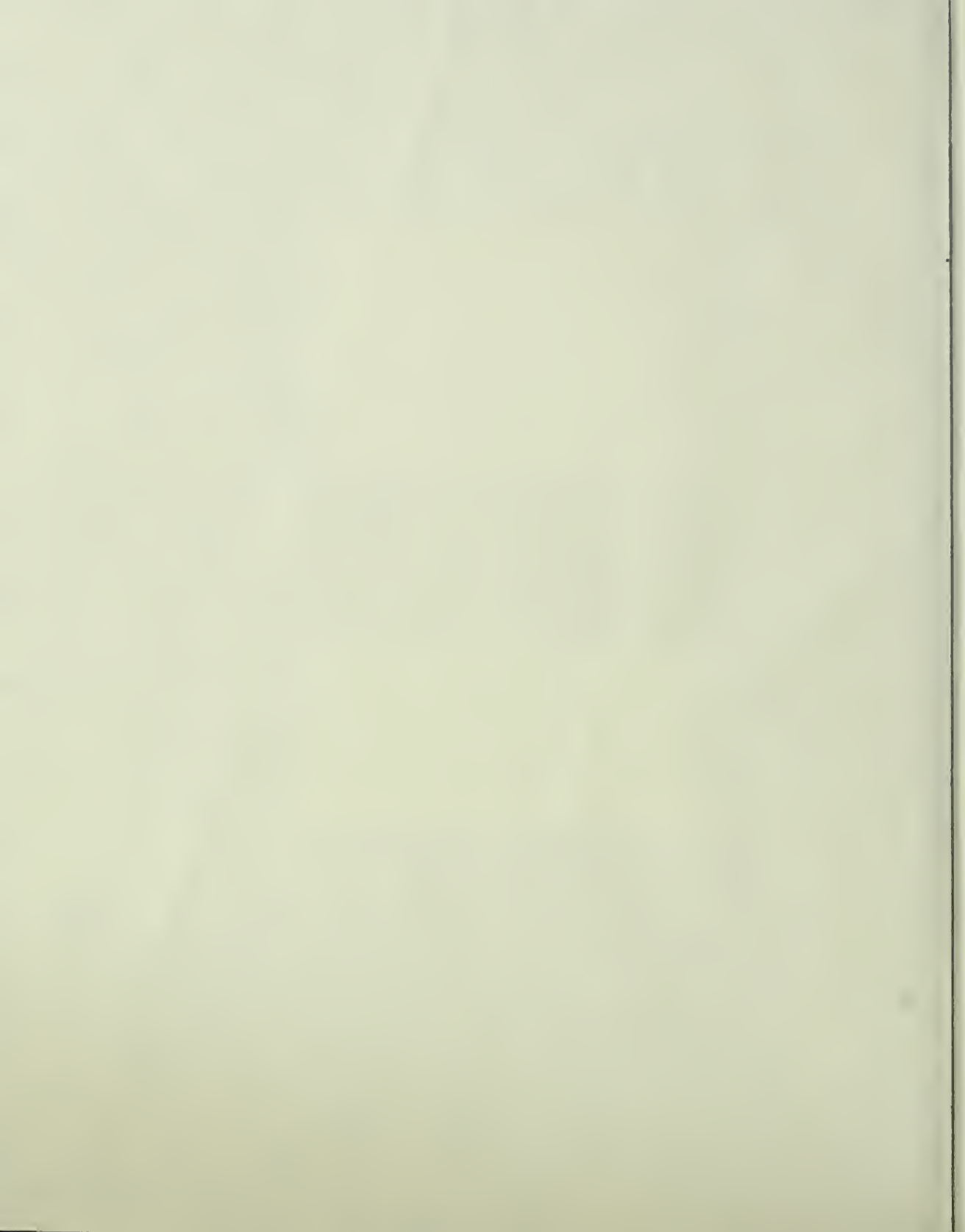


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California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

BURLINGAME

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California Snapshots



ABOVE: A fine day in June, California-style. . . . But what is the occasion for this pleasant gathering in 1910 at Monticello Grove (now under Lake Berryessa in Napa County)? Ribbons pinned on some of the ladies suggest prizes. . . . for the best pies or the finest hats? Perhaps this is an annual company picnic. Are the men employed by the brewery whose beer they drink and display for the photographer? Whatever the event, a more mellow gathering would be hard to find. California Historical Society, San Francisco

FRONT: In turn-of-the-century Southern California, solar water heaters were more than curious playthings for the wealthy. When this no-nonsense Pomona Valley family gathered in front of its clapboard bungalow in 1911 for a portrait, perhaps to send to doubting midwestern relatives, the blank face of the roof-mounted solar collector seemed almost as important a presence as grandpa and grandma. Butti/Perlin & Assoc., Venice

BACK: Indians of All Tribes reclaim Alcatraz Island in 1969. San Francisco Room, San Francisco Public Library

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California History

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The Indian Attempt to Reclaim Alcatraz Island

“We Hold

At 2:00 A.M. (PST) on the morning of Thursday, November 20, 1969, Apollo 12 astronauts Pete Conrad and Alan Bean were busy inside their craft *Intrepid* which sat on the moon in an area called Oceanus Procellarum, the Ocean of Storms. They had just completed man's second exploration of the lunar surface and were preparing to rejoin astronaut Richard Gordon in their moon-orbiting spaceship *Yankee Clipper* for a three-day, 240,000-mile return to Earth. Their spirits were high, and Conrad sang as he worked. It was the first time anyone had sung on the moon.¹

At the same moment, on the waterfront in Sausalito, a group of about ninety American Indians, most of them students of California colleges, readied themselves for a five-mile boat trip across San Francisco Bay to Alcatraz Island. Among the food, sleeping bags, and other supplies they carried were several proclamations and news releases, one stating in part that “Indians have owned Alcatraz island for thousands of years . . . by right of discovery.”² The statement further contended that as a result of a “solemn treaty with the Sioux Nation in 1868 . . . any Federal land that was not being used by the government would automatically revert back to the Indians.”³ The federal penitentiary on Alcatraz had closed in March 1963, and the island had remained as excess government property for a half-dozen years.

The determined group intent on reclaiming the island contained men and women, several married couples, and some half-dozen children aged two through six. Calling themselves Indians of All Tribes, they represented twenty different tribal groups rang-

Richard DeLuca is a writer interested in history. He is also a docent at the Society's Whittier Mansion in San Francisco and president of the CHS Docent Association. Mr. DeLuca is presently at work on a history of transportation in Connecticut.

the Rock!”



*In November 1969, ninety American Indians, calling themselves Indians of All Tribes, claimed Alcatraz Island as Indian land. Leader Richard Oakes leans on wall as supporters bring supplies through a Coast Guard blockade of "The Rock" on November 23.
Photo by Vincent Maggiora. CHS, San Francisco*

When its strategic importance diminished, the island's isolated position made it suitable for a military prison, and, in 1934, a maximum security federal penitentiary.
California Historical Society,
San Francisco

ing from the eastern Iroquois to the Alaskan Klinketts (Tlingits). Their main spokesman was a twenty-seven-year-old Mohawk named Richard Oakes, a student in the newly-created Native American Studies program at San Francisco State College.

Using two pleasure boats, the Indians ferried themselves and their supplies through the dark to the landing dock on the east side of the island. A resident caretaker who saw them arrive offered no resistance, and the group made its way up the island's steep and winding roadway to the three-story frame house across from the prison's main cellblock. Here, in what was once the home of the warden of Alcatraz, the Indians established their headquarters. They gathered together some stray furniture and set out sandwiches and soft drinks. As dawn approached, they kindled a blaze of branches and paper cups in the fireplace, and a celebration of ceremonial drumming and traditional Indian songs filled the warden's living room. Above the mantle hung a poster of Apache Chief Geronimo.⁴

By afternoon, federal officials arrived on Alcatraz. During the weekend that followed, they met several times with the Indians and their attorneys, advising the group that they were trespassing on government property and must leave the island. The Indians, however, were adamant in their intent to stay and "reclaim the land known as Alcatraz Island." A Coast Guard blockade was established to prevent additional landings (either by Indians or curious onlookers), but no direct action was taken to remove the trespassers. By Monday, as Apollo 12 neared its splashdown in the Pacific, the Indians had begun to settle in on their new territory, and signs of their presence were clearly visible around the island. Slogans announcing Alcatraz as "Indian Land" had been painted boldly in red along several building fronts and atop the island's water tower. At dockside flew a flag picturing a tepee beneath a broken peace pipe, and

above the entrance to the main cellblock hung a small plywood sign: "This Land is My Land."⁵

Indians of All Tribes would remain on Alcatraz, in fluctuating number and with a decreasing sense of unity and purpose, for more than one-and-a-half years, and in that time the incident commonly referred to as the Indian occupation of Alcatraz would become an event of national importance. In more human terms, it also became a tragedy that caused the accidental deaths of three persons, including the twelve-year-old daughter of leader Richard Oakes.

The occupation remains significant for several reasons. As much as any other event of the day, it typifies the anger, frustration, and idealism inherent in many social protest movements in the late 1960s. It was also one of the country's first aggressive and prolonged acts of Indian protest, and its example gave impetus to more militant demonstrations of "Red Power," one of which culminated in the armed occupation of Wounded Knee on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation in 1973.

Within California, moreover, the Indian occupation of Alcatraz was not an isolated happening, but rather an event deeply rooted in the history of the state's Indians and, in particular, in the history of their land claim disputes with the federal government.



They made many promises, but kept only one. They promised to take our land, and they took it.⁶

California's native people were removed from their lands in a manner similar to that experienced by Indians in other parts of the country, but within a time period and geographic pattern unique to Cali-



ifornia. Present estimates of California's pre-Hispanic Indian population place the "statewide" total at around 310,000 persons. As Spanish missions were established up the Pacific coast from San Diego (1769) to Sonoma (1823), approximately 72,000 Indians of this coastal region were brought to live under the mission system. By 1830, their number had been reduced to some 18,000 as a result of introduced diseases, dietary changes, and disruption of their social habits. Military excursions into nearby areas probably killed another 10,000 persons. By the close of the mission period, the native population had been thinned throughout the coastal region by about 64,000 persons.⁷

During the early 1830s, as the Spanish mission system gave way to the secular land grants and rancheros of Mexican rule, epidemics of smallpox and possibly malaria, as well as syphilis, spread through the densely-populated Central Valley, killing about 60,000 Indians. Developments on large interior land grants to men such as John Sutter, John Bidwell, and George C. Yount further disrupted the Central Valley, with an estimated 40,000 natives killed as a result of endemic disease and armed conflict. Some tribal groups were entirely eliminated, while others were forced to disperse eastward and northward to the more remote valleys of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade ranges.

These more remote lands, however, were soon coveted by the huge influx of gold seekers and settlers

who continued the onslaught against California's Indians. According to Sherburne F. Cook, historic demographer of California's Indians, the impact was "incredible." In the decade from 1845 to 1855, about 100,000 Indians were killed

by a ruthless flood of miners and farmers who annihilated the natives without mercy or compensation. The direct causes of death were disease, the bullet, exposure and acute starvation. The more remote causes were insane passion for gold, abiding hatred for the Red man, and complete lack of any legal control.⁸

After the Gold Rush, the Indian population continued to decline, reaching its lowest point at the end of the nineteenth century with less than 25,000 Indians remaining statewide. In little more than a century, the European colonization of California had driven the once widely ranging native peoples into remote portions of the state; in the process, they were reduced to less than 10 percent of their original number.

Since the property rights and religious and civil freedoms of California Indians were, in theory, protected by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) ending the war with Mexico, legal dealings between the federal government and the remaining California Indians began soon after statehood. In 1851-52, at the request of Congress and President Millard Fillmore, a series of eighteen separate treaties were negotiated between the United States and representatives of 139 of the state's Indian groups. In return for the formal



Named Isla de los Alcatrazes (Island of the Pelicans) by the Spanish, the twenty-two-acre island in San Francisco Bay became the site of Fort Alcatraz in 1859. Photo c. 1870 by Eadweard Muybridge. CHS, San Francisco

ceding of their tribal lands, the Indians were promised eighteen reservation areas totaling 8,619,000 acres (about 8 percent of the state's total area) on which to live, as well as some food and clothing, and education in the "art of civilization." In several instances, however, the California legislature had already denied the state's Indians certain of their civil rights and soon adopted resolutions opposing the federal treaties. As a result, the treaties were rejected by the U.S. Senate and the unratified documents placed in "secret files of the Senate" where they would remain until 1905, "when the Senate voted to remove the injunction of secrecy."⁹

Beginning in 1864, a system of federal Indian reservations was established in California—by executive order, not by treaty—but the acreage provided over the years would be less than one-tenth what had been promised by the rejected treaties.¹⁰ Moreover, in the century that followed, federal policy governing continued Indian affairs proved to be sporadic and inconsistent, vacillating between two contradictory viewpoints: one, that Indians were, and should remain, wards of the government, separate from the mainstream of American society; the other, that all government responsibility for Indian welfare should be terminated, tribal groups disbanded, and Indian people assimilated into the dominant economic and social system. These extreme, conflicting attitudes and the legislation that derived from them resulted in

great confusion and mistrust on the part of displaced Indian groups trying to maintain a sense of cultural identity. These inconsistencies also produced a federal bureaucracy that, in large part, accomplished neither aim. Meanwhile, housing, education, and health care for California's remaining Indian population remained substandard on and off the reservation.¹¹

The first quarter of the twentieth century brought a surge of public interest in the welfare, land problems, and civil rights of Indians in California and across the nation. Although this reform movement faded as the Depression began, it produced some significant federal legislation, in particular the Jurisdictional Act of 1928. With this law, Congress in effect recognized the right of native peoples throughout the country to sue the federal government and receive compensation for any illegal seizure of Indian lands during the nineteenth century.¹²

In California, the legal issue of Indian land claims soon focused on the unfulfilled promises of the eighteen negotiated, but never ratified, treaties of 1851–52. Known as case number K-344, this claim was eventually settled in December 1944 when California Indians were awarded \$5,024,842.34, an amount equal to the 1851 value of reservation lands promised, offset by the dollar value of all land and welfare benefits provided since that time by the federal government. Indian groups were disappointed by the

settlement, which yielded a per capita award of \$150, but the passage two years later of the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 opened the legal door for further claims, specifically to the remaining ninety-two million acres of California that the original treaties had completely ignored.¹³

Had the Indians, in a legal sense, owned all of the land that had been taken from them? After nearly twenty years of courtroom maneuvering and following extensive testimony by noted anthropologists, the Indian Claims Commission concluded that California's Indians had "ranged throughout their respective territories in their gathering, hunting, and fishing exertions," and therefore in effect had held "Indian title to these lands." To avoid further extended proceedings, however, attorneys for both sides agreed in July 1963 to an out-of-court compromise settlement of \$29.1 million as compensation for approximately sixty-four million acres of what had once been Indian California.¹⁴

Finally, after more than a half-century of legislative and legal battles—and nearly two centuries after the removal of the Indians from the land had first begun—the entire issue of California Indian land claims against the federal government appeared headed to a close. In the year following announcement of the compromise, meetings were held with tribal groups around the state which were to vote on the settlement. Although there was some strong and persistent opposition to accepting the settlement, in the end 78 percent of the 14,737 Indians who voted favored the compromise.¹⁵

It was at the height of this balloting process in March 1964, and against this background of land claim disputes, that a small group of Sioux Indians living in the Bay Area made the first attempt to reclaim Alcatraz Island.



. . . the most unlikely event of the year . . .¹⁶

Because of its strategic position within the harbor of San Francisco Bay, the twenty-two-acre rock that the Spanish had named *Isla de los Alcatrazes* (Island of the Pelicans) became the site of Fort Alcatraz in 1859. As the sophistication of military weaponry advanced, the island's strategic importance diminished, but its isolated position made it a safe place to detain and imprison criminals, first as a United States Army military prison, then in 1934, as a maximum-security federal penitentiary. The island is also the site of the oldest lighthouse on the Pacific coast, built in 1854.¹⁷

With steep, rocky terrain, Alcatraz has no resources of its own, and from its earliest occupation all supplies, including food, water, and building materials, had to be brought from the mainland. By the 1950s, this had made the Alcatraz prison exceedingly costly to operate, and in 1961, facing additional capital costs of \$5 million for building repairs, United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy announced that the penitentiary on Alcatraz would close. The last of the island's prisoners were transferred away on March 21, 1963.¹⁸

When an inquiry of federal agencies indicated that none were interested in acquiring the island, Alcatraz was soon classified as excess federal property and transferred from the United States Department of Justice to the government's custodial agency, the General Services Administration (GSA). By late 1963, however, congressional legislation created the "President's Commission on the Disposition of Alcatraz Island," and the vacant prison returned to the limelight of Bay Area news.¹⁹

The President's Commission, chaired by Senator Edward Long of Missouri, was scheduled to hold its first meeting on the disposition of the island on March 21, 1964, in the main cellblock on Alcatraz.²⁰ On Sunday, March 8, however, in what the *San*

San Francisco Examiner labeled "the most unlikely event of the year," a party of five Sioux Indians, sponsored by the Bay Area Chapter of the American Indian Council, and accompanied by their attorney and about twenty supporters and newsmen, landed on Alcatraz to claim the island under the homesteading provisions of the Sioux Treaty of 1868.²¹

Costumed in tribal headdress, the five men conducted a victory dance on the island's highest point and planted a large American flag. Each then proceeded to physically stake his claim to a portion of the island. Talking with reporters, the homesteaders also extended an offer to purchase Alcatraz at a price of 47¢ per acre—the approximate per acre equivalent of the \$29 million-claim settlement then being debated. Although the group had intended to stay on the island and had come equipped with tent, camping gear, and food supplies, they left the site after being confronted by United States marshals. The five men later filed their claims to Alcatraz with the "Bureau of Land Claims in Sacramento."²²

That a group of non-California Indians invoking a century-old Sioux treaty would come to dramatize California's land claims issue was not as unlikely as it might first appear. Beginning in 1952, many Indians of different tribal affiliations from reservations throughout the West had relocated to urban centers such as Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland as part of a government program designed to hasten the assimilation of Indian people into the American mainstream. Vocational training and job placement were among the incentives for relocation. In addition, federal policy during the 1950s took a sharp reversal toward terminating all federal responsibility for financial and other assistance to Indians on reservations. This brought with it renewed activism among Indian organizations, local and national, who feared the consequences of this sudden withdrawal of aid. Although the force of the relocation and termina-

tion programs diminished under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations of the 1960s, the impact of these policies from the previous decade was strong and lasting, particularly in California, a prime target of the termination policy.²³

After the events of March 1964, including the first meeting of the President's Commission on Alcatraz, the commission held two days of open hearings on April 24–25 at San Francisco's Nourse Auditorium to discuss the proper disposition of the island. A variety of proposals was presented, including one by a group of citizens willing to fund construction of a monument dedicated to the United Nations and world peace. Also attending the meeting was a delegation of Indians that included Richard McKenzie and others from the brief landing on March 8, who now proposed that an Indian cultural center and university, estimated to cost between \$15 and \$50 million, be built on Alcatraz. The commission was reportedly "cool" to the Indians' latest proposal, "mainly due to its connection with an increasingly unpopular concept—segregated education."²⁴

On May 15, the commission held its final meeting in executive session in Washington, D.C. At the request of Chairman Long, the commission received an informal opinion from Assistant Attorney General Ramsey Clark on the legal validity of the Indians' claim to Alcatraz. The two-page opinion deduced that, old treaties aside, "Alcatraz does not qualify as available public land" and, therefore, was not open to homesteading or public allotment. Clark concluded, "We are satisfied that there is no way in which the American Indian Foundation or similar groups can assert rights which can inhibit the Presidential Commission on the Disposal of Alcatraz or the General Services Administration's freedom in planning what to do with the island." By January 1965, congressional members of the commission had introduced into the House and Senate legislation recommending



In what was once the warden's house, a celebration of ceremonial drumming and traditional songs on the evening of November 19 marked the group's determination to reclaim Alcatraz. Photo by Vincent Maggiora, CHS, San Francisco

On November 21, 1969, the Coast Guard blockaded the island to prevent additional landings by Indians and their supporters. As the occupation wore on, the blockade was lifted. Photo by Vincent Maggiora, CHS, San Francisco



In July 1969, Lamar Hunt, son of Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt, presented his idea for commercial development of Alcatraz to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. It looked favorably on his plan which included a refurbished prison cellblock, and shops and restaurants with an 1890s flavor. CHS, San Francisco

that Alcatraz be transferred to the National Park Service and that the offer to erect a monument to the United Nations be accepted.²⁵

Pursuing the matter, Richard McKenzie filed suit on September 13, 1965, in U.S. District Court. Seeking to restrain the General Services Administration from disposing of the island, he asked the court to recognize his right to settle upon and improve the land as a result of his claim of March 8, 1964 or, in lieu thereof, to award him the island's current value of \$2.5 million. (After several years, this case was finally dismissed for lack of prosecution by McKenzie.)²⁶

Legislation concerning the United Nations monument also lingered but in the end was never enacted. Therefore, as 1968 approached and as California Indians awaited disbursement of the financial settlement on their land claims, the question remained: What to do with Alcatraz?²⁷



. . . I feel sure that if we rally on this one we can stop Mr. Hunt. And in the process, create something great in the Bay.

Alvin Duskin²⁸

In the spring of 1968, with the recommendation of the President's Commission for transfer of Alcatraz to the National Park Service effectively blocked by

congressional inaction, GSA began anew the process of disposing of Alcatraz, this time dispatching notices of availability to the State of California and the City of San Francisco. The state declined the offer, but San Francisco responded favorably, expressing interest in acquiring the island. For the next eighteen months, from June 1968 through November 1969, the city tried to settle on a feasible plan for use of the island. A Surplus Property Commission was established by the Board of Supervisors to conduct the purchase, and by July 1969 this city commission had begun to hear proposals for developing the island. Once again, the spotlight was on Alcatraz.²⁹

There was no shortage of ideas. More than five hundred proposals were submitted for the infamous prison island, and they ran the gamut from religious and patriotic monuments to gambling casinos and museum-like tourist attractions. One commercial venture, however, was singled out by the city for approval. Sponsored by Texas businessman Lamar Hunt, the plan consisted of three elements: retaining the prison cellblock as a tourist attraction; constructing shops and restaurants along the north side of the island that would be "an historically accurate reproduction of San Francisco, 1890"; and, on the southern half facing the city skyline, building an underground space museum and a "public plaza . . . of landscaped, illuminated gardens highlighted by statues of key men who have planned and implemented America's space program." A 364-foot space tower with revolving restaurant originally proposed for the plaza

area was later deleted from the plan.³⁰

These latest proposals for Alcatraz, however, were being debated in a social climate very much changed from the mood six years earlier when Alcatraz was originally vacated. A seemingly endless tide of demonstrations and sit-ins, urban riots and political assassinations had produced nation-wide civil rights, ecology, and women's liberation movements and, strongest of all, raging opposition to the United States' involvement in the war in Vietnam. From the Berkeley Free Speech Movement to San Francisco's (anti-)Freeway Revolt and Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love and Marin County's contested "new city" project, Marinello, the Bay Area had become a center of cultural upheaval. This growing concern for protecting the natural and human environment against unlimited commercial development now began to shape the future of Alcatraz Island.

Endorsement of the elaborate Hunt proposal by San Francisco's Board of Supervisors on September 29, 1969, triggered a strong citizens' campaign, led by San Francisco dress manufacturer Alvin Duskin, to save Alcatraz from commercial development. In response to Duskin's full-page newspaper advertisement that asked the rhetorical question: "A Little Bit of Texas in San Francisco Bay?", some 14,000 readers cut-out and mailed messages in protest to GSA and to the Department of the Interior. As a result of this "considerable opposition" to commercial plans for development of the Rock," Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel asked GSA on October 24, 1969, to postpone until December 1 any decision on Alcatraz while his department studied the possibility of preserving the island as a federal park.³¹

Since the Department of the Interior had in the past steadfastly refused to take the island under its control and protection, Hickel's move surprised and confused city officials and GSA administrators, and they did not hide their resentment of this last minute

interference.³² San Francisco's Surplus Property Commission requested that Hickel attend a public meeting to clarify his intent, while in a letter to the commission's chairman, a GSA official advised, "we strongly urge the city to pursue diligently" its plans for Alcatraz, "despite the decision of the Department of the Interior."³³ Then, in the midst of this eleventh-hour confusion, the Indians once again went to Alcatraz.



I grew up on the St. Regis Reservation in New York, near the Canadian Border . . . six miles square, with three thousand people and three thousand problems. . . . The hopes were there, the promises were there, but the means for achieving them weren't forthcoming. I couldn't adjust. I went to the schools . . . until I was sixteen, but the system never offered me anything that had to do with being an Indian. . . . All they wanted . . . was . . . to make me into what they wanted: a white Indian. I wanted to do something for my people. But I didn't know what.

Richard Oakes³⁴

Amid the social unrest of the late sixties, the problems of the American Indian population were becoming a cause of national concern. In March 1968, as land claims similar to those in California were being filed by tribes in Florida, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and elsewhere, Congress approved an amendment to existing civil rights legislation called an Indian "bill of rights." Simultaneously, the anti-poverty program of the Lyndon Johnson Administration was expanded to include funding for Indian community

action projects. Meanwhile, a Senate subcommittee on Indian education chaired by Senator Robert Kennedy (following his assassination, by his brother Edward) began a highly publicized two-year probe that included both public hearings and visits to reservations throughout the country.³⁵

By 1969, this new awareness of the Indians' plight crossed over from courtrooms and legislative chambers into the popular culture and, as well, passed from an older to a younger generation of Indian activists. In May 1969, N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa Indian and California professor of English, was awarded the Pulitzer prize in literature for his novel *House Made of Dawn*, which depicted the alienation of a young Indian unable to find a place in American society. On Broadway, the popular stage show "Hair" was being billed as America's first "tribal, love-rock musical."³⁶ Two new dramatic offerings came forth as well: a one-act play, *Indians* by Arthur Kopit, and a movie, *Little Big Man* with Dustin Hoffman. Both examined the negative effect of the opening of the West on the Indian.

On college campuses, courses in Native American studies were added to similar programs in ethnic and Third World studies, often as a result of disruptive student protests. It was in one such program at San Francisco State College (now University) that Richard Oakes enrolled in the spring of 1969. Oakes had recently arrived in San Francisco with his wife and five children, having been employed in the East for eleven years as an iron worker. Like many others, he had chosen California on impulse, "to come on out and see the world."³⁷

Oakes later recalled:

At about this time, the papers were full of controversy over what to do with Alcatraz. . . . There was a meeting of all the Indian students throughout the State . . . and I mentioned it there that taking Alcatraz would be a good thing to do. . . . They all laughed. However, it was there

that one of the older people said, 'All you young people, listen: We have been looking forward to this day when there would be something for you to do. You are our leaders.'

Several months later, at the American Indian Center in San Francisco, the idea came up again, and, according to Oakes, "We made tentative plans to do it in the summertime, in 1970."³⁸ Other events, however, accelerated their timetable.

In the early morning of October 28, 1969, a four-alarm fire destroyed the American Indian Center located at 3043-16 Street in San Francisco's Mission District. Three men who had been sleeping in the upstairs recreation hall were rescued by firemen moments before the roof and rear wall collapsed. The fire was later attributed to an explosion triggered by "smoldering trash."³⁹

For eleven years, this center had provided employment, health care and legal assistance, and social programs for the growing number of relocated Indians living in San Francisco.⁴⁰ In connection with fundraising for a new center, arrangements were hastily made for an excursion *around* Alcatraz. The object of this event was to claim the island "symbolically," thereby keeping Indian concerns in the public eye.⁴¹

On Sunday, November 9, the chartered boat filled with Indians and reporters headed toward Alcatraz, but for Richard Oakes and several of the younger Indian college students aboard, the proposed action did not seem decisive enough: "A lot of us were sick of doing things for the public, so when they sailed around the island, we decided to jump off . . . swim out to the island, and claim it. . . . So I . . . dove into the water. Four others followed. . . . Before jumping I felt a great sense of urgency. I felt I had to do it."⁴²

Within hours of this action, the group was removed from the island by the Coast Guard, but Oakes and fourteen other Indian students from



Public reaction to the occupation was frequently sympathetic, and on Thanksgiving Day, a local restaurateur prepared and delivered 200 complimentary dinners to the Indians of All Tribes. CHS, San Francisco

In March 1970, television cameras recorded a shipload of donated medical supplies leaving for the island. Throughout the occupation, news media heightened public awareness of the plight of Indians in California and across the nation. CHS, San Francisco



Berkeley, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco State College returned that evening, hid from caretakers and spent their first night on Alcatraz. Before being coaxed from the island the following day, Oakes and the others read to newsmen and GSA officials several prepared statements, again making reference to "the 47¢ per acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land." The group then promised to return.⁴³

Gaining confidence from these first attempts, Oakes came to believe that they might succeed in holding the island if their numbers were greater. He later wrote,

This time, instead of going back to the Indian Center, I went down to UCLA. . . . I made a speech to the Indian students . . . and told them of our experiences, told them that there was nothing to fear. I said that we needed people who would be willing to live out there. I told them that it would mean a great deal to all Indians, and that it would take great dedication on the part of those who came. . . . Eighty of them decided to come up to San Francisco.

Before dawn on November 20, 1969, they were on a boat to Alcatraz, where "this time we planned to stay."⁴⁴



*Let it be known that our stand for self-determination is on Alcatraz.*⁴⁵

On the day following their pre-dawn landing, Richard Oakes and an attorney for Indians of All Tribes telephoned a list of demands to the regional coordinator of the Department of the Interior. Among them was the expectation that the federal government return Alcatraz to the Indians within two weeks and thereafter provide funds for a major university and cultural center on the island "without participation in its administration." They also requested a meeting

with Secretary Hickel to discuss the matter further, but only if the above conditions were agreed to before hand.⁴⁶

While the destruction of San Francisco's Indian Center had added a sense of urgency to the existing situation for the Indians, it was the prevailing national climate of protest that had transformed proposals into non-negotiable demands. This mood had likewise gathered the century-old issues of land, education, and cultural identity into one emotional demonstration for self-determination.

At the outset, federal response to the occupation of Alcatraz—one of the decade's first prolonged demonstrations by a group of American Indians—was restrained, and this strategy of wait-and-see inaction defused the potentially explosive confrontation. (Similarly, the occupation remained peaceful, with the participants denouncing the use of violence and the involvement of non-Indian outsiders in the event.) Since the demonstration, like the island it claimed, was already physically isolated, the Coast Guard blockade was lifted after several days, and for the remainder of the occupation, the Indians were free to come and go from the site as they pleased. In repeated visits to the island, federal officials reiterated their concern about the health and safety hazards posed by the prison's crumbling structures, inadequate sanitation, and lack of heat. On the topic of most interest to the Indians, however, the federal response, including that of Secretary Hickel, was firm: there would be no concession to any demands or pre-conditional meetings and no discussion of grievances until the Indians had left the island.⁴⁷

Public sympathy, on the other hand, lay with the Indians, a fact which also tempered any federal thoughts of taking more forceful action. Private citizens donated food and money to the cause, as well as boats for transportation to and from the island. In the first week of the occupation, more than \$4000 was



PROCLAMATION:

To the Great White Father and All His People—

We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty:

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars (24) in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that \$24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of \$1.24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity—for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more than suitable for an Indian reservation, as determined by the white man's own standards. By this we mean that this place resembles most Indian reservations in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequate means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and so unemployment is very great.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive, and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.

9. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

Further, it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

What use will we make of this land?

Since the San Francisco Indian Center burned down, there is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in the white man's city. Therefore, we plan to develop on this island several Indian institutions:

1. A Center for Native American Studies which will educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples.
2. An American Indian Spiritual Center which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies. . . .
3. An Indian Center of Ecology which will train and support our young people in scientific research and practice to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. . . .
4. A Great Indian Training School will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among all our people. . . .

Some of the present buildings will be taken over to develop an AMERICAN INDIAN MUSEUM which will depict our native food & other cultural contributions we have given to the world. Another part of the museum will present some of the things the white man has given to the Indians in return for the land and life he took: disease, alcohol, poverty and cultural decimation (As symbolized by old tin cans, barbed wire, rubber tires, plastic containers, etc.). . . .

In the name of all Indians, therefore, we re-claim this island for our Indian nations. . . .

Signed,
Indians of All Tribes
November 1969
San Francisco, California

received by the American Indian Center, and on Thanksgiving Day, 200 complimentary dinners were prepared and delivered to the island by a local restaurateur.⁴⁸ Letters and telegrams to government officials, including the president, also streamed in. Although some of the public reaction for and against the Indian position was well-reasoned, most, like the incident itself, was emotional in content. One telegram, for example, sent to President Richard Nixon on November 26, read: "For once in this country's history let the Indians have something. Let them have Alcatraz."⁴⁹

With the situation stalemated but still very much in the news, the occupation stretched on. Plans had been made for a pan-tribal conference that would bring together Indians from across the country at Christmastime with the hope of producing "new Indian unity around the issue of Alcatraz." It was also expected that a confederation of American Indian Nations might be organized, making the occupation of Alcatraz the first step in a "united Indian . . . effort to get back their land."⁵⁰

On December 22, the eve of the conference, the Indians started their own radio program, "Radio Free Alcatraz," which was broadcast daily on Berkeley radio station KPFA-FM, in Los Angeles on KPFX, and in New York City on WBAI, thus reaching out to an estimated 100,000 listeners. The American Indian Nations' conference, however, proved disappointing in attendance and results. While Indian children played with Christmas toys donated by local sympathizers, about 100 persons from various tribal groups talked of acquiring the island and raising funds, but "little more than . . . a catalog of new ideas and the airing of some old differences was accomplished."⁵¹

Meanwhile, the Indians on Alcatraz had established an organizational structure soon after the occupation began, but problems of leadership and behavior per-

sisted. Factions had already begun to form among the seven-member elected council, some of whom were resentful of councilman Richard Oakes, who had captured a disproportionate amount of media attention. As the occupation wore on, boredom also increased, and as one result, the island's security force (called the Bureau of Caucasian Affairs) became more vocal and militant. Pointless vandalism began, reporters were occasionally harassed, and the proclaimed ban on liquor and drugs was openly violated. And under the surface was the unresolved tension between the more conservative Bay Area Indian groups who were supporting the occupation from the mainland and the younger, more aggressive factions on Alcatraz.⁵²

Soon after the Christmas conference, an unexpected turning point occurred with a personal tragedy. On January 3, 1970, while playing with several other children, twelve-year-old Yvonne Oakes fell two stories through an open stairwell in one of the island's apartment buildings, incurring major head injuries. On January 7, with his youngest daughter unconscious and in critical condition following surgery, Richard Oakes announced that he would not return to Alcatraz. Yvonne Oakes died the following day.⁵³



*Our answer at this time, and at any other time is an emphatic "No."*⁵⁴

By mid-December 1969, the Department of the Interior had completed its studies of Alcatraz, and plans for including the island in the National Park system's Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) progressed more or less independently of the Indian occupation. In the early months of 1970,

discussions began among the Department of the Interior, city officials, and interested Bay Area organizations, and as public and legislative support for the recreation area proposal mounted, the fate of Alcatraz appeared more and more certain.⁵⁵

In January 1970, federal responsibility for dealing with the Alcatraz situation shifted from the regional offices of GSA to the National Council on Indian Opportunity, whose executive director, Robert Robertson, was a part of the vice-president's White House staff. During the next few months, a concerted effort was made to end the occupation, but after several sessions with the Indians on Alcatraz and an exchange of proposals, the stalemate remained.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, as a result of Robertson's overture, a coalition of some thirty Indian organizations (including Indians of All Tribes) formed on the mainland to help identify specific funding needs of Bay Area Indians. At one of its first meetings, however, this Bay Area Native American Council voted unanimously to support the Alcatraz occupation and further agreed not to act on any proposals until federal officials dealt favorably with the demands of the occupiers.⁵⁷

Negotiations with the federal government culminated on March 31, 1970, when Robertson made what was to be the government's best offer. While holding to the position that park land was now the "highest and best use" of the island, Robertson proposed that a committee, composed of Indians chosen by the Secretary of the Interior from lists supplied by Indian groups across the country, be formed to work with the department in developing a master plan for Alcatraz that would "maximize the Indianness of the island in the context of a park." To achieve this albeit awkwardly stated goal, Robertson suggested several possibilities, including an Indian name for the island and development of an Indian cultural center and museum as an "integral part of the park plan." The committee, he said, might also suggest sites other

Richard DeLuca's article on the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island is the first winner of the California Historical Society's Alice J. Clark Essay Contest. Established in 1982 by friends of the late Ms. Clark, the contest awards an annual prize of \$200 for the best original essay on the history of the San Francisco Bay Area and its people in the twentieth century. Authors must be between the ages of seventeen and thirty-five.

Ms. Clark took a lifelong interest in young people and financially assisted their educational and cultural enrichment. A native San Franciscan, she was fascinated by the city's history, particularly its ferry boats and cable cars.

Friends of Ms. Clark who helped establish the memorial award are: Mrs. Robert K. Blair, Ms. Maridell Bonner, Ms. Marie Conroy, Mr. Brian McGrath, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Murphy, Mrs. Mary Niland, Ms. Elizabeth Owen, Ms. Mary J. Rowan, and Dr. Thomas Wolff.

The annual deadline for submission of manuscript entries to the contest is December 31 of each year. Awards are made at the CHS annual meeting the following March.

than Alcatraz for an Indian university.⁵⁸

In retrospect, the offer seems a reasonable compromise, but it was not taken. Indians of All Tribes held firm to their demand for nothing less than complete control of Alcatraz and their university, and their answer was "an emphatic 'No'." ⁵⁹

It seems clear that the Indians were reluctant to give up possession of the island for another reason as well: their occupation had become a celebrated symbol of a nationwide movement for "Red Power". Newsworthy visitors to the island from December 1969 to March 1970 had included actor Anthony Quinn and Indian folksinger Buffy Sainte-Marie, Dennis Banks of the American Indian Movement based in Minneapolis, Merv Griffin, and Jane Fonda.⁶⁰ On March 15, 1970, as Indians in New York City announced plans to seize Ellis Island, seventeen Indians invaded surplus federal lands near Ft. Lawton in Seattle; by November, four similar occupations would occur at sites in Northern California.⁶¹ Accompanying these activities was national news exposure that included cover stories in *Time* and *Look* magazines, along with frequent references to Alcatraz as "The symbolic act of Indian awareness."⁶²



Even as the Robertson proposal was being discussed, however, daily life on Alcatraz had begun to deteriorate sharply. A physicians' inspection in February revealed that, while the Indians appeared healthy, hygiene on the island was "extremely poor, from sewage disposal to the preparation of food"; another report called the sanitary conditions "deplorable."⁶³ The GSA's daily reports on island activity also claimed that the sale and use of drugs was "very much in evidence" and that several prostitutes on the island were doing "a fairly brisk business."⁶⁴

The occupation's most volatile moment came after Indians of All Tribes rejected Robertson's offer and set May 31, 1970, as a deadline for government approval of their demands. A large gathering was also planned for "Liberation Day," as it was called, to solicit funds for the Indian cause from sources other than the federal government. As the deadline neared, however, GSA custodians retreated from the island following threats of violence. Then the government took decisive action.⁶⁵

On May 27, GSA formally announced what had long been suspected: Alcatraz Island would be transferred to the Department of the Interior as a "key element" in a Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Once again the Indians on Alcatraz were asked to accept Robertson's proposal so that plans for the park could "move ahead." Two days later it was revealed that the Alcatraz lighthouse would soon be replaced by off-shore navigational aids and electricity and water supplies to the island cut off.⁶⁶

An estimated 300 to 500 persons attended Liberation Day festivities, and local newspapers carried reports of Indian plans to begin demolition of some island buildings. The following evening, June 1, at 11:05 P.M., a Coast Guard boat sent to investigate "a glow emanating through the fog" at the east end of the island discovered several buildings in flames. By morning, fire had destroyed the warden's house and several adjacent structures, and the nearby lighthouse had been damaged as well. While the Indians denied any culpability for the blaze, which they said had

On the evening of June 1, 1970, after officials announced the transfer of the island to the Department of the Interior for parkland, several buildings, including the warden's house, were destroyed by fire and the nearby lighthouse damaged as well. United States Coast Guard

probably been set by vigilantes from the mainland who had slipped through their security, eye-witnesses indicated that the lighthouse fire had begun as a separate blaze at about 8:00 A.M., well after the Indians had become aware of the other fires.⁶⁷

By September, rumors of a confidential government plan to remove the Indians (code name Operation Parks) began to surface, but no action ever materialized, and in November 1970, some ninety Indians on Alcatraz celebrated the occupation's one-year anniversary. Only three persons from the original landing party remained, however, and on the mainland, the Bay Area Native American Council publicly admitted that "the occupation of Alcatraz was a 'good symbol at first' but was not a good situation now."⁶⁸

Following a harsh winter, fewer than thirty Indians remained on the island. On June 11, 1971, as Bay Area congressmen readied legislation in Washington to establish the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, federal marshals removed the last fifteen Indians from Alcatraz Island without incident.⁶⁹



We have been in this land for thousands of years.

*Indians of All Tribes*⁷⁰

While the political impact of the Alcatraz occupation and the years of Indian protest that followed is difficult to assess, on July 8, 1970, eight months after the Kennedy committee summed up its findings by calling the state of the American Indian a "stain on the national conscience," President Richard Nixon delivered a major statement on federal Indian policy to the Congress. In it he recommended that a middle course be steered between previous policy extremes of "excessive dependence" on the one hand and "forced termination" on the other. The goal of the

new policy would be self-determination "without the threat of eventual termination." Toward this end he proposed several legislative changes that would encourage an "Indian future . . . determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions."⁷¹

A more tangible result of the Alcatraz occupation was the establishment in California of an all Indian-Chicano college. Named Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl (D-Q) University, it was located on 640 acres of surplus federal land near Davis, following the occupation of that site on November 3, 1970, by some forty Indians, many of them "veterans of the Alcatraz episode as well as similar land seizures in Shasta county and elsewhere."⁷² For more than ten years, D-Q University has offered an Associate of Arts degree with emphasis on American Indian and Chicano cultures. In that time it has received nearly \$7 million in federal funding. The school has repeatedly failed to satisfy government requirements in areas such as student enrollment and accreditation, however, and it is now being evicted from its Davis site.⁷³

The Golden Gate National Recreation Area celebrated its tenth anniversary in the fall of 1982, and Alcatraz Island is now one of San Francisco's most visible and most visited tourist attractions. Under the guidance of National Park Service Rangers, in 1982 nearly 370,000 persons strolled the prison's famous cellblock and learned about the island's history. The number of visitors is expected to double as various structures are restored and portions of the island are cleared for park use.⁷⁴

On many occasions since 1971 — most recently on Thanksgiving Day, 1982 — large groups of Indians have also returned to Alcatraz in remembrance of the island's occupation and the struggle it symbolized.⁷⁵ Although the future of reservation lands in California is unknown, all land claims against the federal government for non-reservation lands have been settled. (As of 1975, nearly 70,000 Indians who proved them-

selves descended from a California tribe had each received per capita awards of \$668.51.)⁷⁶

Interpreting the significance of Alcatraz Island as a national historic site is a complex, ongoing task, yet this much is certain: the year-and-a-half long Indian occupation of the island commands attention. It is a vivid historic moment, containing all that came before. It stands, too, as a proper reminder of all yet to be done.



Notes

Extensive, uncatalogued source material pertaining to Alcatraz Island for the years 1963–1971 can be found in the Alcatraz Disposal Case Record, Record Group 291 (Records of the property management and Disposal Service, Region 9) at the Federal Archives and Records Center in San Bruno, California. A selected portion of this case record relating to the Indian occupation of Alcatraz has been chronologically arranged and indexed, and is available at Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) headquarters, Fort Mason, San Francisco. Items referenced below taken from this indexed material are identified by an asterisk (*).

The author expressed his appreciation to Ms. Gretchen Feiker of the National Park Service, whose prior work in gathering this duplicate material greatly facilitated the preparation of this article.

The papers and files left on Alcatraz by Indians of All Tribes are deposited in the History Room of the San Francisco Public Library. This fragmentary material is indexed, and may be consulted for added perspective on the 1969–71 occupation. Many thanks to the staff of GGNRA, the Federal Records Center, and the San Francisco Public Library for their assistance.

1. Richard S. Lewis, *The Voyages of Apollo* (Quadrangle, The New York Times Book Company, 1974), pp. 90–91; 120–121.
2. Statement by Indians of All Tribes (untitled), November 20, 1969*.
3. *Ibid**.
4. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 20, 1969, p. 1*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 21, 1969, p. 1*.
5. Proclamation: To The Great White Father And All His People, American Indian Center (not dated)*. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 21, 23, 1969, p. 1*; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 24, 1969, p. 8*.
6. Caption on a poster by Indians of All Tribes. (See John Hart, *San Francisco's Wilderness Next Door* [1979], p. 66.) This quo-

tation also appears in the 1971 book by Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee*, as follows (p. 449): "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land, and they took it." Its original author is unknown.

7. Sherburne F. Cook, "Historical Demography," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8 *California* (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 91–93.
8. *Ibid*. 93.
9. Omer C. Stewart, "Litigation and its Effects," in *Handbook*, 705.
10. *Ibid*. 705–706.
11. Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in *Handbook* 112–122. For an overview of U.S. Indian policy and related social attitudes in the period 1812–1953, see also Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American* (Wesleyan University Press, 1982).
12. Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth Century Secular Movements," in *Handbook*, 713–716.
13. Stewart, "Litigation," 706–707.
14. *Ibid*. p. 707–708. The settlement's adjusted acreage excluded existing reservation lands, the land grants of Spain and Mexico, and the lands of certain tribes along California's borders whose claims were being tried as separate cases.
15. *Ibid*. 708. There appears to have been, in total, 20–23,000 eligible voters, though on this point Stewart is unclear.
16. *San Francisco Examiner*, March 9, 1964, p. 1*.
17. Erwin N. Thompson, *The Rock: A History of Alcatraz Island 1847–1972* (1979), pp. 1–3, 82, 380, 456. Several groups of Indians also were imprisoned on Alcatraz in the years from 1873 to 1895 as a result of the Modoc War and other military incidents elsewhere in the West. (See Thompson, 295.)
18. Thompson, *The Rock* 413–14.
19. Chronology of Alcatraz Disposal (1963–1970)*, p. 1.
20. Minutes of Meeting, President's Commission on the Disposition of Alcatraz Island*, March 21, 1964.
21. Those statutes cited in support of the Indian claim included Article VI of the 1868 treaty (15 Stat. 635, 637) that allowed male Indians eighteen years or older to homestead land outside the Sioux Reservation "which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation," and Section 4 of the General Allotment Act of 1887 (24 Stat. 388, 389, 25 U.S.C. sec. 334) that entitled Indians not living on reservations to select land allotments "upon any surveyed or unsurveyed lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated." (See Letter from Ramsey Clark, May 15, 1964*, noted below).
22. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 9, 1964, p. 1*; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 9, 1964, p. 1*. Apparently the claims were filed with the regional office of the Department of the In-

Ninety Indians celebrated the second Thanksgiving on the island and the occupation's one-year anniversary. On June 11, 1971, after a harsh winter, federal marshalls and GSA officials "recaptured" the island from the remaining fifteen Indian occupiers.
CHS, San Francisco



- terior. (See Chronology of Alcatraz Disposal, p. 1*).
23. Dippie, *Vanishing American* 336-344.
 24. *San Francisco Examiner*, April 26, 1964 (no page)*.
 25. Chronology of Alcatraz Disposal*, p. 2; Letter from Ramsey Clark, May 15, 1964*; Letter on the status of Alcatraz (1963-69) from Richard F. Laws, General Services Administration, October 15, 1969*.
 26. Richard Delaware Dion McKenzie vs. United States of America, Stewart L. Udall (complaint No. 44112), September 13, 1965*; Rupert Costo, "Alcatraz," *The Indian Historian*, Winter 1970, p. 9.
 27. Stewart, "Litigation," p. 708-709. The Department of the Interior commented unfavorably on the legislation. (See Alcatraz Fact Sheet, October 23, 1969, p. 2.*)
 28. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 9, 1969, p. 19.
 29. Chronology of Alcatraz Disposal, p. 3-6*.
 30. San Francisco Department of City Planning, *Alcatraz Island*, staff report, August, 1968; *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 30, 1969, p. 1; October 7, 1969, p. 36.
 31. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 9, 1969, pp. 3, 19; October 25, 1969, p. 1*; *San Francisco Examiner*, October 24, 1969, (no page)*.
 32. *San Francisco Examiner*, October 30, 1969, p. 4*.
 33. Letter from Richard F. Laws, October 27, 1969*.
 34. Richard Oakes, "Alcatraz Is Not An Island," *Ramparts*, December, 1972, p. 35*.
 35. *New York Times Index*, 1968, p. 652. An indication of the growing attention being given to Indian issues can be seen in the number of columns devoted to such news in the *Times Index*. This number rose from three columns in 1968 to a peak of 28 columns in 1973. By 1976, the total had fallen to five columns; in 1981, two columns.

The Kennedy subcommittee met at the American Indian Center in San Francisco in January 1968 and heard California tribes testify that current school textbooks were "slandorous" to Indians. (*N.Y. Times Index*, 1968, p. 652—January 5, 21:6). Its final report, concluding that "our national policies for educating American Indians are a failure of major propor-

- tions," was released to national publicity on November 12, 1969. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 12, 1969, p. 2.
36. In the fall/winter of 1969, a road production of *Hair* was also playing at San Francisco's Geary Street theater. On Friday evening, November 14, the show was abruptly cancelled in observance of the second Vietnam moratorium, but the announcement curiously invoked the name of the Bay Area's Ohlone Indians: "The members of the Ohlone Tribe (*Hair's* cast) feel there is a lot of death going on. So they have decided this is where their head is at. There will be no performance. . . ." *San Francisco Examiner*, November 15, 1969, p. 4.
 37. Oakes, "Alcatraz," 35-37*.
 38. *Ibid.* 37-38.
 39. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1969, p. 2.
 40. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 30, 1969, p. 6. The 1970 Census counted 91,018 Indians in California with 77% residing in urban areas of the State. According to Cook, there were then 17,107 Indians living in the greater Bay Area, in comparison to a mere 83 at the turn of this century. (See Cook, *Handbook* 98.)
 41. Oakes, "Alcatraz," 38*.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 10, 1969, p. 1*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 11, 1969, p. 1*.
 44. Oakes, "Alcatraz," 38-39*.
 45. Indian Proclamation by Richard Oakes and Attorney Houchins, November 21, 1969*.
 46. *Ibid.*
 47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 24, 1969, p. 1*; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 20, 1969, p. 17*; Report from T. E. Hannon on the Indian Occupation Through December, 1969, December 31, 1969, p. 2-3*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 25, 1969, p. 1*.
 48. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1969, p. 1*. Thanksgiving weekend also brought the first tragedy in connection with the occupation. On Saturday, November 29, two persons were killed and four others injured in a car accident on

- their way to Alcatraz. (See *Sacramento Bee*, November 30, 1969, p. A18*).
49. Letters from the American Public During the Indian Occupation of Alcatraz*.
 - For "well-reasoned" reactions, see: Letter from Professor Jack Forbes, U. C. Davis, November 25, 1969*, and Letter from Beverly Lancaster, The Enissaries, Inc., November 29, 1969*.
 50. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 24, 1969, p. 2*; KGO Radio Rebuttal Editorial by Aubrey Grossman, December 18, 1969*.
 51. Indians of All Tribes Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1970*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 24, 1969, p. 2*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 8, 1970, p. 4*.
 52. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 7, 1970, p. 5*; January 8, 1970, p. 4*.
 53. *San Francisco Examiner*, January 5, 1970, p. 1*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 8, 1970 (no page)*; Report by T. E. Hannon on Accident of Yvonne Oakes, January 5, 1970*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 9, 1970, p. 3*.
 - After leaving Alcatraz, Oakes continued to involve himself in Indian causes elsewhere in Northern California, and during the next year was twice arrested as a result. That summer he was also severely beaten in a barroom fight in San Francisco and hospitalized for several weeks. On September 20, 1972, Oakes was shot and killed in a personal confrontation while attempting to hunt on private property in Sonoma County. (See *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 21, 1972, p. 1*). The article in *Ramparts Magazine* cited here, published posthumously, is from an account written by Oakes shortly after he left Alcatraz.
 54. Reply to counter-proposal of Robert Robertson by Indians of All Tribes, Inc., April 3, 1970, p. 3*.
 55. Anna C. Toogood, *A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area & Point Reyes National Seashore*, Vol. 2 (June, 1980), p. 215-221.
 - In addition to thousands of individuals, some sixty-five civic and conservation groups, including the California Historical Society, lent their support to the park idea. (*Ibid.* p. 219).
 56. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 9, 1970 (no page)*; Planning Grant Proposal To Develop An All Indian University and Cultural Complex On Indian Land Alcatraz by Indians of All Tribes, Inc., February, 1970*. This proposal was presented to Mr. Robertson on February 23. (See *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 25, 1970, p. 3*.)
 57. *San Francisco Examiner*, February 12, 1970, p. 6*.
 58. A Proposal from Robert Robertson for the United States of America to the Indians of All Tribes, Inc., March 31, 1970*.
 59. Reply to counter-proposal of Robert Robertson*.
 60. *San Jose Mercury*, December 16, 1969 (no page)*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1970, p. 2*. Report from T. E. Hannon on Indian Occupation, February 20, 1970*; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 2, 1970, p. 1*.
 - Indians of All Tribes, along with the American Indian Movement, became two of the dominant Indian protest groups in the nation, and each was involved in episodes outside their own locale. Sources indicate that although the two groups exchanged sympathies, there was no substantial leadership or financial link between the organizations. (See also Peter Matthiessen, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (Viking Press, 1983).
 61. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 17, 1970, p. 7*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 8, 1970, p. 11.
 - These sites included: Rattlesnake Island in Lake County, the Pit River near Redding, lands along the Russian River, and an abandoned army site near Davis.
 62. "The Angry American Indian: Starting Down the Protest Trail," *Time*, February 9, 1970, p. 14-20*, "America's Indians: Reawakening of a conquered people," *Look*, June 2, 1970*.
 63. Medical Inspection Report of Alcatraz Island, February 18, 1970, p. 3*; Sanitation Inspection Report of Alcatraz Island, February 18, 1970*.
 64. Reports from Don Carroll, March 31, 1970*; April 3, 1970*; Memo from Thomas N. Scott, February 17, 1970*.
 65. Reply to counter-proposal of Robert Robertson*; Reports from Don Carroll, May 12, 1970*; May 19, 1970*.
 66. GSA News Release, May 27, 1970*; *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 29, 1970, p. 2*.
 67. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1970, p. 1*; Memo from Thomas N. Scott, June 2, 1970*; *New York Times*, June 3, 1970 (no page)*.
 68. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 2, 1970, p. 31*; November 21, 1970, p. 4*; *San Francisco Examiner*, November 8, 1970, p. 11; Letter from T. E. Hannon, December 4, 1970*.
 69. *Eugene Register-Guard*, April 11, 1971, p. 9a*; *San Francisco Examiner*, June 11, 1971, p. 1*.
 70. Statement by Indians of All Tribes (untitled), November 20, 1969*.
 71. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 12, 1969, p. 2; President Nixon's Statement on Indians to the Congress of the U.S., July 8, 1970, p. 1-2*.
 72. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 5, 1970, p. 14.
 73. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 26, 1982, p. 2.
 74. Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Division of Interpretation, Fort Mason, San Francisco; *General Management Plan/Environmental Analysis*, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, September, 1980, pp. 37, 113-114.
 75. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1982, p. 4.
 76. Stewart, *Handbook*, p. 708-709.



Alvin Willie, Paiute, age 14

Alcatraz: Symbol & Reality

The modern period of Native American resistance and militancy seems to have commenced in New York State in the mid-1950s. Slightly before the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, which launched the Black civil rights movement, traditional Six Nations people used passive resistance and militant protest to block various New York State projects. Still later an occupation of land took place at Schoharie Creek, New York.

The Indian militancy of the 1950s was primarily a phenomenon of "traditionalist" people typified by the participation of elders, medicine people, and entire communities. The Six Nations traditionalists developed alliances with the Hopis, the Seminoles of Florida, the Pit Rivers of California, and some Navajos.

In the early 1960s, other Indian groups began to turn to activism. The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) provided a vehicle for activism among younger college students or college-age people. Its greatest strength was in Oklahoma and the Plains-to-Albuquerque region. In Southern California appeared the Native American Movement, a pan-Native group with a hemispheric orientation which sought to give Chicanos consciousness of their Native identity. At the same time the American Indian College Committee developed initial proposals for a Native American University.

Militancy developed steadily throughout the 1960s. In particular, resistance to proposed Indian land claims settlements led to increased activity on the part of the Western Shoshone in Nevada, the United Paiutes in western Nevada, and the Pit Rivers in Northern California. These movements, like those

of the Six Nations peoples in the 1950s, involved traditionalists and entire communities.

In 1968 three events of significance occurred. United Native Americans (UNA) was founded in the San Francisco Bay Area, the American Indian Movement (AIM) developed in Minneapolis, and *Akwesasne Notes* commenced publishing in New York State. Many of the occupiers of Alcatraz Island were still (or had been) members of UNA, while AIM was later to develop a broad alliance among urban Indians and reservation people. *Akwesasne Notes* offered vital reporting and commentary about current activities, as did *Warpath*, the UNA organ, and *Americans Before Columbus*, the NIYC publication.

The period 1968–1969 was one of increased activism in the Bay Area. Indians began to picket and stage protests in Oakland and San Francisco, while newly-enrolled students at the University of California, Berkeley, and at San Francisco State College affiliated with other ethnic groups in new Third World student coalitions. On the Berkeley campus, students and UNA members located an unused bungalow, occupied it, and later received permission to develop a Native Cultural center.

It was in this atmosphere of increased activism on the part of many kinds of Native people that the occupation of Alcatraz took place.

While most Indian people responded very favorably to the Alcatraz occupation, many saw it as a primarily symbolic act which was designed to highlight the general nature of their struggle. Most traditionalists and nationalists had no intention whatsoever of subordinating their own efforts at self-determination or land recovery to the Alcatraz occupation. Western Shoshone people, for example, continued to give primary attention to their struggle with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Claims Commission.

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Between late 1969 and mid-1971, many Indians made the pilgrimage to Alcatraz. But the overwhelming majority returned directly to the struggles which they had already launched or which were more pertinent to their own needs.

Many of the people who had been seeking to create an Indian university since 1961–1962, for example, did not agree that Alcatraz Island was a good site for a college. They believed that adjacent agricultural land was needed and that the site must be more accessible for part-time and evening students. In 1969 this group began looking at a 650-acre federal surplus site near Davis, California, and in 1970 a formal application for the site was made. Federal officials, however, favored an incomplete application made by the University of California at Davis for this same site, and at the end of October 1970 then-Senator George Murphy announced that the land and building were to be awarded to the University of California. Since this announcement was prior to the official closing date for the receipt of applications, the trustees of the Indian college (incorporated as D-Q University) started legal action while local U.C. Davis Indian students initiated an occupation of the site. Later they were joined by other Indians, including, for a brief

time, a few who had been on Alcatraz.

In retrospect, it seems very unlikely that the occupation of Alcatraz in itself led to any marked change in the general direction of the Indian movement. But it did serve several extremely important functions.

First, it captured media attention.

Second, it helped to create a sense of optimism among Indian people that they could accomplish such actions.

Third, it helped to create a new sense of pride and activism in many people who had previously been marginal to the militant Indian movement.

Fourth, it became an evocative symbol of the Indian struggle.

Fifth, it provided some useful learning experiences for the participants.

On the negative side, the occupation of Alcatraz may have encouraged some Indian activists to become enamored of staging media events as opposed to the harder task of long range and careful organizing.

Nonetheless, as a symbol of resistance and hope, Alcatraz remains extremely important and continues to stand as a reminder of the still unfulfilled promises made to Indians by the United States government.



The Reverend "Curiosity Hunter of the

One can hardly conceive of a more desolate place. In some places a dozen ghostly skeletons appear to stare at you. Not a tree or shrub is to be seen, not a bird or insect in sight, and no noise to break the stillness except the moaning waves which seem to sing a sad dirge for the departed. The island is a great charnel house covered with the bones of men, women, children, and inhabitants of the sea.

This mournful description of San Nicholas Island as viewed in 1889 was penned by the indefatigable Stephen DeMoss Bowers. For fifteen years, this self-taught scientist unhesitatingly excavated and sifted the Santa Barbara Channel Islands for human skulls, arrowheads, spear points, bone implements, and other artifacts which he sold to eastern museums and collectors.¹ As the first scientist to probe the Native American sites long after their original occupants had been killed, decimated by disease, or taken to mainland missions, Bowers claimed the rare opportunity to observe the undisturbed remnants of one chapter in California's distant past. The haphazard and unscientific nature of his archaeological "digs," however, earned him the nearly unanimous censure of succeeding generations of archaeologists and historians.

Pompous and aggressive, but often ingratiating and sympathetic to the few people he considered his intellectual equals, this enigmatic man of many trades was a self-educated geologist, archaeologist, zoologist, paleontologist, ethnologist, newspaper publisher, and Methodist Episcopal preacher. In the amount

of work he was able to accomplish in the decade-and-a-half of work he spent exploring and combing the shores of the Santa Barbara Channel, he stands alone. Much of this achievement, however, was of questionable value to the scientific world, despite Bowers' pride in his work as a practicing archaeologist.

Born near Wilmington, Indiana, on March 3, 1832, to David and Esther Bowers, Stephen was barely a year old when this large and industrious family of six brothers and seven sisters (one of whom died just before Stephen, the youngest child, was born) settled on a farm just eight miles north of Indianapolis. Stephen's earliest childhood memory was riding with his father behind a brace of mules as they hauled wheat 100 miles to the Ohio River for shipment to market by barge. Indianapolis as yet had no railroad.²

A studious boy, Stephen learned his lessons by candlelight and walked or rode horseback several miles to a tiny schoolhouse. Because his health was poor and his frame never robust, the severe winter months often found him at home by the fire when he should have been at school. Quickly realizing that he was not cut out to be a farmer, he determined at an early age to become a minister of the Gospel, and at the age of twenty-three he took his vows as a Methodist pastor, on trial, affiliated with the Indiana Conference. Authorized to conduct prayers and exhort for the Lord (his other pastoral duties were laid upon him a few months later), young Bowers was sent to Pleasant Valley Mission in Lawrence County, ninety miles west of his birthplace.³ His diaries disclose that he was "blessed at almost every effort," and those first years as a circuit rider—although he usually walked—presaged a lifetime calling to the Methodist Episcopal pulpit.

In November 1856, just ten months after his enrollment in the ranks of Methodist preachers, Bowers married seventeen-year-old Martha Cracraft of Greencastle, an Indiana farming community.⁴ Their

The author is recently retired from thirty-five years as a Southern California journalist. His published works include *This Land Was Ours: the Del Valles and Camulos* (1977). He is currently at work on two books: one on Dr. Bowers and another on early women mayors of the West.

Stephen Bowers: Santa Barbara Channel Islands"



Biological specimen in hand, the energetic amateur archaeologist Stephen Bowers paused briefly during one of his explorations of Anacapa Island, which he tried unsuccessfully to purchase from the federal government in 1887. Courtesy Wesley B. Clover, Los Angeles.

first son, Hayden, was named for Bowers' hero, Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, leader of one of the United States government's four scientific surveys of the western American territories.

As a young man, Bowers initiated a lifelong collection of artifacts and geological specimens, and although he devoted himself industriously to his twin careers as preacher and, later, newspaper publisher, his primary interest always remained archaeology. Sent by his church to Kentucky, then to Oregon, and finally (because of Martha's failing health) to California, he transferred in 1874 from his first California pulpit in Napa City to Santa Barbara. There Bowers found the call of the Indian burial grounds on the Santa Barbara Channel irresistible. His service with the 67th Indiana Volunteers in the War Between the States probably stood him in good stead as he began his first months of backbreaking outdoor work on the islands.⁵

In the summer of 1875, Bowers accepted an assignment from Lieutenant George Montague Wheeler to act as guide for two (perhaps three) Corps of Army Engineers survey parties operating on both sides of the channel. How Bowers landed this plum is uncertain, but in view of his skill at pushing himself into the limelight on all occasions, it may be assumed that Wheeler first heard of Bowers from Bowers himself.

In Wheeler's party at La Patera, a ranch eight miles north of Santa Barbara owned by Thomas Wallace More, were archaeologist Paul Schumacher; botanist Joseph Trimble Rothrock of the University of Pennsylvania; and Henry Wetherbee Henshaw, an ornithologist and ethnologist with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.⁶ It was through Henshaw that Bowers later became known to Professor Spencer Fullerton Baird of the Smithsonian, an event leading to an extensive correspondence which continued until Baird's death in August 1887. It was ultimately through Baird's influence that Bowers was

able to place thousands of California and midwestern Indian artifacts and fossils in the Smithsonian's collections, seventeen different accessions in twenty-nine years.

Bowers' work for the Wheeler Survey occupied all of his time, save in the pulpit, during May, June, and July 1875. Wheeler's extensive notes on these explorations contain sixteen references to Bowers.⁷

Bowers' preoccupation with Indians and fossils was often evident in the pulpit. Editor J. A. Johnson of the *Santa Barbara Morning Press*, for instance, noted that a Bowers sermon on the Deluge was "drawn from science almost exclusively."⁸ How Bowers reconciled the Biblical and Darwinian accounts of the creation of man is unknown, but Bowers was held in enough esteem by his parishioners and fellow preachers to be one among twenty-four ministers who met in Los Angeles in September 1876 to form the Methodist Southern California Conference.⁹

This esteem for Bowers appears to have been confined to the church and to the curators of eastern museums. Historians and professional archaeologists who know about Bowers' archaeological activities regard him as a meddler who destroyed fully as many artifacts as he preserved—and rendered the sites scientifically useless as well.

Bowers, of course, was not the only untrained archaeologist doing field work. "Curiosity seekers," as Bowers derisively called them, abounded in the late nineteenth century, and the state of the art of excavation was crude by present-day standards. Even such renowned scientists as Edward Cope and Othniel Marsh, who induced an uncle to establish Yale University's famed Peabody Museum, destroyed many important sites in a frantic race to find the biggest and best dinosaur bones—a bitter feud which clouded both their reputations. But Bowers was under no such pressure. As a newspaper publisher in Wisconsin and Nebraska and as a Methodist preacher

The young Reverend Bowers arrived in California in 1874 to accept Methodist Episcopal pastorates in Napa and then in Santa Barbara. Courtesy Wesley B. Clover, Los Angeles.



in Kansas, he had spent a great deal of time at digs where Indian and dinosaur bones were excavated by reputable and trained men. Thus his flagrant disregard for orderly methods and his failure to preserve sites cannot be excused on grounds of ignorance. The same, however, might be said of some of the men with whom he dealt his wares. The Smithsonian's Henshaw, who had been with Bowers in the field and was undoubtedly aware of his methods, aided and abetted Bowers' campaign to woo Professor Baird and secure Smithsonian funds for the Channel Island excavations. To whatever extent Henshaw and Baird knew of Bowers' raiding proclivities, they were equally to blame.

Because no trained observers had visited the Indian burial grounds on San Nicholas and Santa Rosa Islands prior to Bowers' excavations of 1875, Bowers had the good fortune to be the first to explore the remains of these settlements and strip the sites of their skulls and implements for shipment to the Smithsonian and other museums and private collectors. Although most of his finds were Chumash in tribal origin, some of the objects were inevitably *ollas* (pots) and other utensils bartered by the Chumash with the neighboring Gabrielinos, a Shoshone tribe with *rancherias* on Santa Catalina Island. Whether Bowers knew the difference is problematical.

During his three-year tenure as the third pastor of the Methodist Church at the corner of De la Vina and De la Guerra streets, Bowers made trip after trip from Stearns Wharf to the islands whose mountains were visible from shore on fogless days. Usually he was accompanied by Simon Peter Guiberson, a Santa Paula correspondent for the *Ventura Free Press* (which Bowers himself would publish a decade later) or the

Ventura Signal. On other occasions Bowers would have as his companions his wife Martha and Dr. Lorenzo G. Yates of Centerville. In later years, his son DeMoss accompanied him; firstborn Hayden was often too sickly to withstand the frequently tempestuous crossing.

"A large portion of this island appears as a vast *rancheria*," Bowers wrote of Santa Rosa Island in an 1877 Smithsonian pamphlet.¹⁰

Shells, bones, and other kitchen debris have accumulated to the depth of several feet. Owing to the luxurious vegetation, the burial places were not readily found, but those examined yielded many skeletons. The implements were not numerous, and were generally broken when buried. The inhabitants seem to have been an indigent race, living in much greater poverty than those on the mainland. Including fossils and some alcoholic specimens, we obtained about one ton of specimens.

As a Methodist preacher and temperance lecturer, Bowers' alcoholic specimens were surely for preserving living samples collected in and around the burial grounds—not for internal use.

"We reached Santa Barbara yesterday from a 25 days' exploration of Santa Rosa Island. I have nine (9) boxes of specimens," wrote Bowers to Professor Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian Institution in 1876. Smithsonian Institution.

Santa Barbara,
April 18, 1876.

Dear Sir:

We reached Santa Barbara yesterday from a 25-day exploration of Santa Rosa Island. I have nine (9) boxes of specimens which I will send to the Alaska Commercial Co., tomorrow.

The Island is covered with rancheria, & we examined the principal ones, examining many hundred skeletons

& I had two hands, & all worked faithfully, Mr. Moore leading us horse for riding and packing. Four days we were in a merciless sand-storm on the western portion of the island, but we

"Although more than sixty years have elapsed since the last survivors left this island," Bowers noted in 1877, "the material of which their houses were constituted remains undecayed. A circular excavation was made to the depth of three or four feet, around which the ribs of whales were planted pointing inward at the top, and covered with sea-grass." Continuing, he scoffed at reports that Chumash skulls found on the mainland shores of the channel possessed double rows of teeth. "After examining 5,000 skeletons, during eight or nine months' explorations in this portion of California, I failed to meet with a single case of this kind."¹¹

In recent years, Bowers' claim to have examined thousands of skeletons has been disputed by Ventura County historian Charles F. Outland. "Allowing for Sundays off, and we can't have a Methodist minister grave-digging on the Sabbath," noted Outland, "he would have had to average some 25 or 30 [skeletons] a day and no days off. I am inclined to think that Bowers' inclination to draw the long bow got the better of him when he made the assertion."¹²

Outland has not been the only qualified observer to question Bowers' credibility. Santa Barbara historian Walker Tompkins refers to Bowers as "the Prince of the Pot-Hunters," "a necropolitian litterbug" who looted Chumash graves "to peddle priceless archaeological relics for whatever they could bring." Historical writer W. H. Hutchinson similarly maintains that Bowers invaded burial grounds with the finesse of a bulldozer and the discrimination of a vacuum cleaner.¹³

Bowers' "intense curiosity has not endeared him to the present day scientist," noted Outland in the November 1958 issue of the *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*. "Bowers probably dug into more Indian rancheria sites, exhumed more skeletons, and collected more tons of Indian artifacts than any other man in the history of the state," but he "ruined many

sites that would yield more valuable information to qualified scientists today.”

Tompkins is even more vociferous when he considers Bowers’ “rampage of grave-robbing” in the Santa Barbara area:

It is a shame that he swapped his Bible for a shovel in his horseback meanderings around the South Coast. When I got out of the Army in 1946 . . . I first heard of Rev. Bowers. I was taken down to Painted Cave—one of the most spectacular Chumash relics in existence—and learned for the first time how Rev. Bowers got wind of the basketry, weaponry and artifacts cached in the cave. He plundered Painted Cave totally and, as usual, sold his artifacts to the highest bidder.¹⁴

Another Santa Barbara historian, Stella Haverland Rouse, blames area residents for “condoning and encouraging” Bowers in his Channel Islands forays. “While he may have publicized Southern California temporarily,” she wrote, “he did it a great injustice in sending tons of material elsewhere, to say nothing of disrupting Indian sites for his own reward.”¹⁵

No one knows how many barrels of Indian implements, utensils, and skulls Bowers dispatched from Stearns Wharf to collectors in New York, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Los Angeles during those busy years. Clearly, Bowers’ expeditions on both sides of the channel from his arrival in 1874 to May 1877, when he exchanged pulpits with the Reverend A. H. Tevis of the Meridian Street Methodist Church in Indianapolis, have estranged him from later generations of reputable observers.

Yet, at the time, Dr. Baird of the Smithsonian was unmistakably impressed by this aggressive, loquacious amateur archaeologist. Their correspondence covered twelve years, and the Smithsonian alone has between 2,200 and 2,500 Southern California Indian relics credited to Bowers’ work between 1876 and 1905.¹⁶ Similarly, Professor Josiah Dwight Whitney of Harvard University’s Peabody Museum cata-

logued 826 Indian artifacts from Bowers’ 1875 excavations on San Nicholas, Santa Rosa, Anacapa, San Miguel, and Santa Cruz islands.¹⁷ Relics credited to Bowers or to his son DeMoss can be found in the National Museum in Washington and by the hundreds (maybe thousands) in public and private collections from Philadelphia to Los Angeles.

Apparently neither Baird nor Whitney were privy to Bowers’ methods. Too impatient to make use of the professional’s pick, toothbrush, and camera much less to lay out a site properly with plumb lines and charts before disinterring the dead, Bowers was nevertheless the man who complained in a letter to Baird that “too many curiosity hunters” were forcing him to proceed at full speed “or it will be too late” to unearth anything of value!

Despite Bowers’ questionable methods, his achievements were favorably noted by historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, and Bowers’ diligence is evidenced by a large number of fossils that bear the Bowers name. Among them are the hundred-pound seashell *ammonites bowersi*, the double-tailed fish *rogeio bowersi*, the sea urchin *clypeaster bowersi*, the fan-shaped seashell *pecten bowersi*, and a bivalve unearthed in Bowers Canyon near Chatsworth, *cuculaca bowersiana*.¹⁸

Dr. Bowers (he received an honorary doctorate at Oregon’s Willamette University) was undoubtedly enthusiastic and hard-working in his pursuits. The Santa Barbara Channel itself was a serious force to be reckoned with on each journey. “We were fearfully seasick,” he reported of one Santa Rosa Island trip in March 1876 with his wife, two hired laborers, and close friend Dr. Lorenzo Yates. “Being becalmed in the channel, we were twenty-nine hours in reaching the island,” some thirty-five miles from Stearns Wharf. Struggling at dusk to set up a crude camp of Army tents and tarpaulins thrown over shrubs, with five-gallon tins, folding chairs and tables, and a reas-

sembled cast-iron stove, the party had barely recovered from their seasickness by late the following morning. Later, Bowers cheerily reported to *Santa Barbara Morning Press* editor Harrison Gray Otis (later of the *Los Angeles Times*) that a fourteen-mile afternoon walk "gave us a fine appetite for supper."¹⁹

Seasickness was not the party's only trial during this twenty-five-day stint on the island. "For days we were in a merciless sandstorm on the western portion of the island, but we worked every day," Bowers reported. "On another occasion we were thirty-six hours without food or blankets owing to the fact that our packers got separated from us." Yet these experiences Bowers shrugged off as all in a day's work, writing to Professor Baird upon his return to the mainland, "If you will give me one year's work, I am confident I can render you a full equivalent for the outlay you make." Baird would have to act at once, he continued, because "parties in the East have offered to buy all I can collect in the future. I received two letters in the last mail begging me to turn from the Smithsonian Institution and collect for them. One man offers me \$1,000 gold for a certain number of articles, and I am certain he would raise it to \$1,500 if I would assent."²⁰

Maybe and maybe not. No such written offer appears in Bowers' papers today, although many of them were consumed in a Santa Monica garage fire.²¹ Perhaps Bowers was simply trying to win a quick commitment from Baird.

Whether or not Bowers actually received such a financial proposal at the time, Bowers proceeded to offer his and his wife's services for a full year to the Smithsonian for \$1,000 in coin and necessary expenses, plus free passage to and from the islands aboard the government cutter *Hassler* stationed at Santa Barbara. Either Baird was not taken in by Bowers' reports of an unidentified buyer, however, or the official had no cash at hand to grubstake a

prospector. In the margin of one Bowers letter Baird noted for the benefit of an assistant, "Send what we can spare." Not until March 1877, nearly a year after Bowers' offer, was Baird able to arrange the necessary financing for a Smithsonian dig on the islands: "[Major John Wesley] Powell will furnish one thousand and Smithsonian three hundred," Baird tersely informed Bowers, who accepted by return mail: "Will begin Monday."²²

Whether Bowers' excavations for the Smithsonian were of a higher scientific order than those undertaken a few months earlier for Lieutenant George Wheeler of the Army Engineers is unknown. Wheeler had noted in his book: "After digging a few feet, and beyond some loose bones that had been reinterred by Mr. Bowers on the occasion of his first visit, we came to a skeleton."²³

Bowers must have missed that one.

Whatever the quality of Bowers' methods during his Smithsonian assignment, he readily shipped two tons of artifacts in barrels from Stearns Wharf and grumbled in his next letter that if he hadn't accepted the offer from Powell and Baird he could have sold "this whole lot for about \$2,000."²⁴ Bowers may not have always sold his artifacts to the highest bidder, as Tompkins and other historians hold, but he did sell them by the barrelful on the open market. For three barrels of relics sent to Dr. Elias Root Beadle of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, he was paid \$5.00 each for Indian pipes, spear points, pestles, jars, serpentine cups, and perforated disks, \$3.00 for mortars, \$1.00 for *metate* or grinding stones, 50¢ each for beads, and 25¢ apiece for arrowheads.²⁵

Bowers claimed to have worked as much as sixteen hours a day for six months in 1877 to earn his \$1,300 from Powell and the Smithsonian, and this may well be true—he seldom shirked hard work or responsibility. His Channel Islands excavations sometimes kept him out of town for weeks at a time, but his



long-suffering parishioners usually forgave him and flocked to hear his sermons and Sunday evening lectures, a rather curious mixture of science and Christian doctrine.

Bowers resigned his Santa Barbara pastorate on short notice during this period—under fire from the *Morning Press* and other newspapers (owner Harrison Gray Otis regarded the man, who seemed forever in the eye of a storm of controversy, as “somewhat of a charlatan”), but although he no longer had to take time to prepare and deliver his sermons, he continued to observe the Lord’s Day while in the field. “This is the holy Sabbath,” he confided to his diary on one of his mainland expeditions,

and a lovely day it is. Our camp is under a fine oak near the bank of the Santa Ynez River and just west of the old *rancheria*. Here runs the rippling river as it did when the former dwellers occupied the mesa—hardly 500 or 1,000 years ago. The skies were as bright, the water as pure, and the birds as gay as on this holy day. But where are the people who once inhabited this place? All gone! Not one left to tell the story of existence.²⁶

Bowers completed his excavations for the Smithsonian in September 1877, shipped “the finest lot of

specimens you have ever received from this coast” on an Alaska Commercial Company steamer bound for San Francisco (where they were forwarded east by train), and took off with Martha for her Indiana home. While in Indiana he accepted a temporary call to the pulpit vacated by his Santa Barbara successor, the Reverend A. H. Tevis at the Meridian Street Methodist Church in Indianapolis. Again he became embroiled in controversy, and the bishop of the Indiana Conference named a three-man committee of inquiry to look into the matter in 1878. The essence of the dispute remains unknown, but the unperturbed Bowers quickly returned to California, where he resumed his excavations.

When Martha died of a stroke in her garden in October 1879 at age forty,²⁷ and their son Hayden died of a lingering illness the following April, Bowers could not bear to resume his Channel explorations. Instead he left Santa Barbara and tossed his hat into the ring as a newspaper publisher. His initial venture was with the *Clinton Weekly Herald* in Wisconsin, then the *Outlook* in nearby Beloit,²⁸ where he soon ran afoul of local politicians and a fellow editor. He was promptly accused of “boasting, lying, snivel-

Undaunted by physical hardships on his archaeological explorations, Bowers, shown here with his son DeMoss in 1889, camped in crude shelters like this one on San Nicholas Island. Courtesy Wesley B. Clover, Los Angeles.

ling and hypocrisy" and of offering himself as a "long-needed leader under whose generalship all the evils in this bad community could be conquered."²⁹

During his years in Wisconsin, Bowers resumed his archaeological forays. In nearby Platteville, he became enamored of a comely young widow, Margaret (Maggie) Dickson. After a brief stint as publisher of the *Falls City Observer* in Nebraska,³⁰ where the *Journal* scored him as a "dead-beat" and "a fraud in politics, business and theology," Bowers gave up on the Midwest. By October 1883, he had returned once more to California where he became publisher of the *Ventura Free Press*. He also served as pastor of the Methodist church in the nearby citrus town of Santa Paula, where his close friend Simon Peter Guiberson lived.³¹ There Bowers launched another weekly newspaper, the *Golden State*, formerly the *Santa Paula Graphic*.

Now accompanying Bowers was his new wife, Maggie Dickson. They bought an elegant cottage at the corner of Oak and Santa Clara streets, adjacent to the *Free Press* plant in San Buenaventura, and Bowers maintained a growing library that was soon recognized as the largest in town—perhaps in Ventura County.

Almost from the start, as usual, Bowers was hip-deep in the political arena, not only in print but from his pulpit. But colleague John McGonigle of the *Ventura Democrat* was quick to see that Bowers was more interested in his Santa Barbara Channel digs than he was in his twin vocations: "Our archaeological friend of the *Free Press* was rustivating at Rincon [beach] last week. He went up there to rest a day or two, he said, but his propensity for digging up things got the better of him, and he borrowed a shovel and went into the resurrection business. He exhumed five skeletons . . . and claims to have found the skull of Aaron Burr."³²

Bowers soon found his role as the town's Republi-

can spokesman untenable in view of his renegade proclivities, so he sold the Republican *Free Press* and *Golden State* and launched an independent weekly, the *Ventura Observer*.³³ "The doctor had completely disrupted [Republican] party harmony with his attacks on the incumbent office holders and his tirades against the saloons," observed historian Outland. "It is this fact that accounts for the many references to his disloyalty and to being a traitor to his party." As for Bowers' journalistic integrity, Outland wrote, "The trick, which required subtleness and finesse, was to cast every manner of foul and derogatory aspersion upon one's opponent (never mentioning any names, of course) and still retain a bare immunity against libel suits. He could attract trouble as easily as honey attracts ants." On one occasion, for instance, Bowers wrote of finding Ventura County's back-country infested with grizzly bears, causing Outland to observe, "Such a statement must be considered *prima-facie* evidence of Bowers' qualifications for membership, with full privileges, in the Damndest Pack of Liars Club."³⁴

As publisher of the new *Observer*, Bowers was able beginning in 1891 to excoriate the "political rings" at city hall and the county courthouse, regardless of Republican or Democratic persuasion, and he soon had the distinction of being the only newspaper publisher in Ventura County history to be beaten up by an irate reader.³⁵ When Bowers was knocked to the floor by 209-pound Undersheriff Charles (Bully) Wason, who considered himself libeled by Bowers' pen, McGonigle's exquisite Irish sense of humor came to the fore. He ran a gleeful account of the fight between "John L. Wason and Jake Kilrain Bowers," and the floored editor soon found himself the butt of every wag in town. Apparently humiliated, Bowers sold his *Observer* and moved to Fallbrook in San Diego County where he established a newspaper of the same name.³⁶



The venture was short-lived. In April 1894 Bowers, now age sixty-two, sold the *Fallbrook Observer* and bought the *California Voice*, a Los Angeles Prohibitionist paper whose name had been changed from *The Patriot* in 1886 by the Reverend George Morris. "We have owned both dailies and weeklies, and we have the somewhat proud satisfaction of knowing that no paper ever failed on our hands," Bowers proclaimed as he vowed to continue the good fight. "We fully understand that a paper that makes no enemies pleases nobody. The people want a paper with hooks of steel. In other words, a paper that speaks plainly, and becomes a terror to evil-doers."³⁷

For five years Bowers was so caught up in the temperance battle that he found little time to seek out

Indian burial grounds, and so he relegated to his son DeMoss the job of foraging for the Smithsonian. But the elder Bowers could not leave politics alone, even in the pages of this haughty Los Angeles organ. His frequent attacks on President William McKinley brought the ire of fellow Los Angeles County editors down upon his head, and when he told members of the Southern California Historical Society that, in his opinion, the Negro was created by God independently of the white man and previous to the creation of Adam, he aroused the ire of his church readers as well.³⁸

Bowers had mixed religion and politics with impunity ever since his days on the Indiana circuits, but this time it proved to be a costly mistake. The *Voice*

Bowers studied in his library at Oak and Santa Clara streets in San Buenaventura c. 1883. The library was believed to be the largest in Ventura County. Courtesy Wesley B. Clover, Los Angeles.



gested for the post by one of the governor's aides. State reports made frequent use of Bowers' contributions on rocks, fossils and oil-bearing strata—just as the Smithsonian published some of his writings on archaeological sites.

While braving 130-degree heat in the San Diego County desert on behalf of the state, Bowers claimed to find time and energy to dig for fossils (according to his diary) in thirteen different canyons and undertake an assignment from the United States Geological Survey to survey fossils represented in the foothills near Riverside. The *Los Angeles Mining Review* reported that he even traveled as far afield as western Mexico. "When peace is made with the Yaqui Indians," Bowers told the *Review*, "a chain of mountains about 400 miles long . . . will most likely yield a rich harvest to miners. At present it is not safe for anyone to encroach upon this territory."⁴² How close he really came to this forbidden fruit is unknown, but Bowers and ten associates did stockpile \$2,100 and incorporate New El Dorado Mines in the Mexican state of Sonora in August 1904. Then he came home in time to take part in a Methodist General Conference of 748 delegates and to ship the Smithsonian a box of Indian relics from Lassen County digs.⁴³

Bowers' expulsion from the Methodist Ministers Union, however, led him to switch religious allegiance during the last months of his life. He became a Nazarene, although still he found time on occasion to fill a Methodist pulpit. In robust health in his mid-seventies, he delivered an average of two sermons a week.

A 1905 diary entry hints that Bowers may have had a premonition of death—or a rare twinge of conscience, something which would have astonished many of the editors with whom he feuded for twenty-five years. He quietly repaid \$195 to twenty-four of his parishioners at Grace Methodist church in Newport, Kentucky, money loaned to him in 1872

fell into disrepute among the pastors with whom he had joined just twenty years earlier to establish the Southern California Conference. After calls for his resignation from the conference, he was expelled from the Methodist Ministers Union by unanimous vote of the fifty pastors present.³⁹

Bowers' racist views, his frequent baiting of a leading Jewish theologian, and his snide remarks about fellow pastors alienated many of his former friends. The Reverend Will Knighten told a reporter for the *Los Angeles Record* that Bowers called ministers who declined to vote the Prohibition ticket moral "cowards" and insulted in print not only President William McKinley (a Methodist Episcopal deacon) but Bishop Newman of his own conference. "I made a speech to the effect that I was tired of Dr. Bowers' insults," said Knighten, "and I voted for the resolution. Fifty ministers were present and the vote was unanimous." Bowers' credence suffered, too, when the *Los Angeles Times* reported that Bowers, "an astronomer and a believer in the inspiration of the Scriptures," claimed he had located Heaven after a fourteen-year search.⁴⁰

Once again free to undertake his excavations and geological explorations, the aging Bowers was named State Mine Examiner by Governor Henry T. Gage in 1899.⁴¹ Some of Bowers' earlier pamphlets, written for the state mineralogist and later reprinted on his Ventura presses, had enjoyed a wide distribution in Sacramento and elsewhere, and his name was sug-

(thirty-three years earlier!) to finance his transfer to Oregon because of Martha's failing health. The money came from the sale of his New El Dorado Mines stock.

While preaching at Pico Heights Methodist Church at the New Year's Watch in the final hours of 1906, Bowers was taken ill, and three days later he suffered a stroke. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, he summoned his wife Maggie, son DeMoss, and daughters Anna Bailey and Florence Cooper to his bedside, and in his delirium he "preached to those who surrounded his couch, with all the fervor that he exhibited in the pulpit."⁴⁴

Twelve hours later he was dead.



Notes

1. *Ventura Weekly Vidette*, November 23, 1889, p. 4.
2. Family tree compiled by Dwight E. Bowers, New Haven Colony (Conn.) Historical Society.
3. *Indiana Conference Journal*, Greencastle, Indiana, September 1856.
4. Marriage certificate, Bowers Family papers, Los Angeles.
5. *Southern California Conference Journal*, September 1874.
6. Correspondence, 1875, Bowers Family papers, courtesy Wesley B. Clover, Los Angeles.
7. *Wheeler Survey reports*, Washington, D.C., 1878, bound volume at Ventura County Public Library, San Buenaventura.
8. Bowers' sermons as reported in the *Santa Barbara Index* and the *Morning Press* were frequently on scientific subjects.
9. Edward D. Jervey, *The History of Methodism in Southern California and Arizona* (Parthenon Press, 1960), p. 21.
10. Publication at Ventura County Historical Museum, San Buenaventura.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Outland's comments are attached to 1877 Smithsonian's pamphlet on Bowers' excavations, Ventura County Historical Museum, San Buenaventura.
13. Tomkins to author, January 11, 1983. W. H. Hutchinson, *Oil, Land and Politics* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 2:121.
14. Tomkins to author, January 11, 1983.
15. Rouse to author, January 13, 1983.
16. Letter to DeMoss Bowers from Assistant Secretary Wetmore, Smithsonian Institution, December 13, 1939.
17. Carded at Peabody Museum as *Joint Expedition of the Peabody Museum and the Smithsonian, Bowers and Schumacher in Charge*.
18. David Starr Jordan, *Fossil Fishes of California* (University of California Press, 1907), p. 130.
19. Letter to Otis, May 7, 1876, as published in the *Morning Press*.
20. Letter from Bowers to Baird, April 19, 1876, Smithsonian Institution.
21. Fire set by vandals gutted the garage of Stephen DeMoss Bowers, Jr., consuming hundreds of his grandfather's catalogued entries and other papers.
22. Diary entry, March 15, 1877, Bowers Family papers.
23. Lt. George M. Wheeler, *U.S. Geological Surveys West of the 100th Meridian*, 1879, Washington, D.C.
24. Letter to Baird, August 25, 1877.
25. Bill of lading, Bowers Family papers.
26. Diary entry, April 8, 1877.
27. Death records, Book A, p. 5, Santa Barbara County Courthouse.
28. Bowers bought the *Rock County Republican* on October 1, 1880, and renamed it the *Clinton Weekly Herald*, then bought the *Beloit Outlook* from J. A. Truesdell on November 19, 1881.
29. *Beloit Free Press*, April 19, 1882.
30. Bowers bought the *Richardson County Register* from Susan F. Holton in April 1882 and renamed it *Falls City Weekly Observer*.
31. *Southern California Conference Journal*, September 1884.
32. *Ventura Democrat*, January 17, 1884.
33. First issue August 3, 1891, and *Ventura Free Press* plant.
34. *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, November 1958, p. 1; Charles Outland, *Mines, Murders and Grizzlies* (Ventura County historical Society, 1969) p. 80.
35. *Ventura Observer*, December 23, 1891; *Ventura Democrat*, December 23, 1981.
36. Bowers bought the *Fallbrook Union* from G. F. Van Velzer on October 27, 1893, and renamed it *Fallbrook Observer*.
37. Undated *California Voice* clipping, 1894, among Bowers Family papers.
38. *Southern California Historical Society Quarterly*, (November 1895): 51-58.
39. *Redlands citrograph*, as quoted in *Ventura Democrat*, March 25, 1898.
40. *Los Angeles Times*, undated clipping, quoted in *Ventura Free Press*, November 13, 1902; *Redlands Citrograph* undated clipping, Bowers Family papers.
41. February 15, 1899, following a Sacramento interview.
42. Undated 1904 clipping, Bowers Family papers.
43. Diary entry, May 4, 1904.
44. *Los Angeles Times* obituary, January 6, 1907.

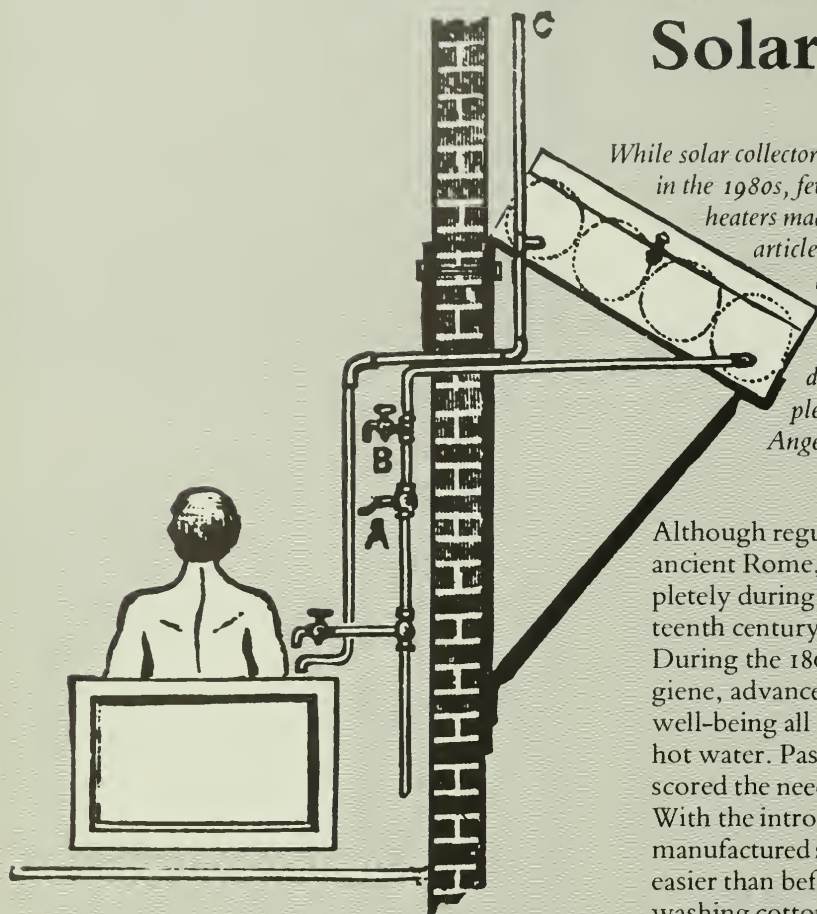
FREE HOT WATER

Solar Water Heaters

While solar collector boxes have become familiar rooftop sights in the 1980s, few Californians remember that solar water heaters made their debut almost a century ago. The article below describes the first experimental heaters, their commercial development and increasing popularity, particularly in Southern California, and their sudden demise in the 1920s with the discovery of plentiful and cheap natural gas in the Los Angeles basin.

Although regular bathing had been commonplace in ancient Rome, the practice died out almost completely during the Middle Ages; not until the nineteenth century did it return to Europe and America. During the 1800's, the requirements of personal hygiene, advances in technology, and greater material well-being all combined to increase the demands for hot water. Pasteur's germ theory of disease underscored the need for frequent warm-water bathing. With the introduction of iron plumbing and cheap manufactured soap, such home hygiene became much easier than before. People also needed hot water for washing cotton clothes—which were rapidly replacing the woolens worn by everyone but the gentry.

Unfortunately, water heating remained a laborious and time-consuming task for the majority of Americans who lived in small towns and rural areas without the benefits of gas or electricity. They had to



—Shows a Climax Solar-Water Heater supported by a bracket on the wall.

A.—Is the cock to use when the hot water is wanted. This passes cold water into the heater, displacing the hot water and forcing it through a pipe to the bath tub.

B.—Is the drain cock which is used to prevent freezing.

C.—The air opening which prevents vacuum in the heater and siphonic action.

A Climax Solar Water Heater brochure suggested two ways to install the system. One utilized a pressurized system (left) and the other a gravity-fed system (right). Special Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara

Ken Butti and John Perlin are the co-authors of *A Golden Thread: 2500 Years of Solar Architecture and Technology* (1980), a history of solar energy developments from ancient Greece to the present. Mr. Butti, currently involved in architectural research, is a regular contributor to the Japanese publication, *Our House*. Mr. Perlin is working with Dr. Borimir Jordan on a historical study of the uses of the basic raw material, wood. Mr. Butti and Mr. Perlin also lecture and write on energy topics. For further information, contact John Perlin, Classics Department, University of California, Santa Barbara.

DAY & NIGHT in California

rely on wood, gasoline or coal-burning stoves to heat their water. As one California homesteader recalled,

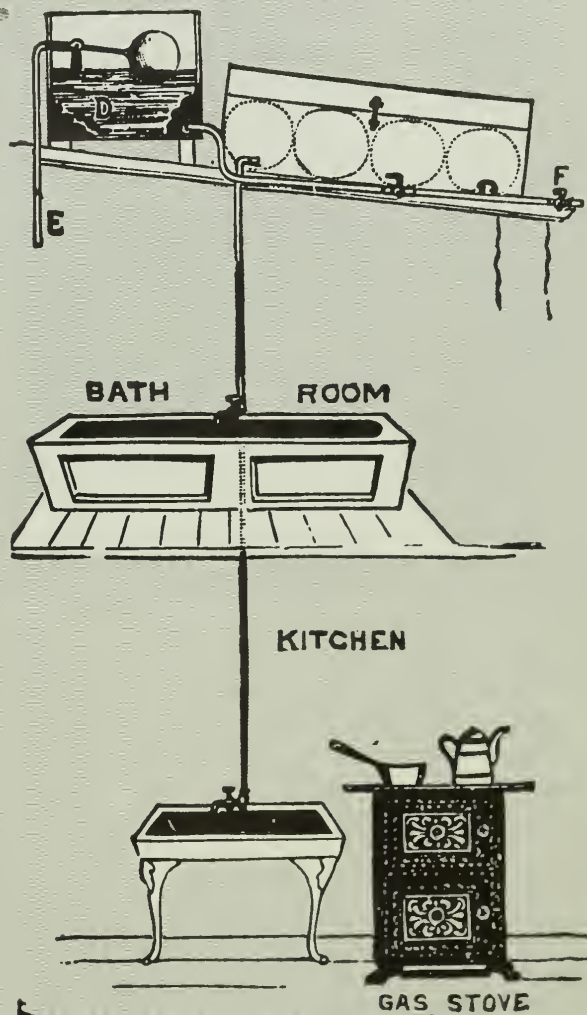
You took just one bath a week, a Saturday night deal, because it was such hard work to heat water on the stove. You put the water in pots, pails, anything which would hold water and you could lift. It took a while for those old stoves to get going because the heat first had to penetrate through the heavy metal.¹

Some people attached a four-gallon water tank to the side of their stove, eliminating the need to crowd the top burners with pots of water. . . . But even with this system the water took time to heat and, according to one old timer, did not stay hot for very long:

Once you got the fire going really good, you'd have to wait about 15 or 20 minutes as the cold water heated up. The hot water would naturally rise up into the tank. And the holding tank was not insulated. That was a real problem because the water in the tank would be cold within an hour or so.²

Wherever water was heated—whether on top, next to, or inside the stove—the job of starting the fire and keeping it hot was a chore. After the wood was chopped and brought in or heavy hods of coal lifted, the fuel had to be kindled and the fire periodically stoked. There were also the unpleasant side-effects of smoke, ashes, dirt, and in the case of coal, foul odors. In the winter, families endured such nuisances anyway as part of the price of using the stove to cook hot meals and help keep the house warm. But in the summer, as one resident exclaimed, "It was torture just to be in the house with the stove on!"

In large cities the situation was a little better. There were gas heaters, which ran on "artificial" or "manufactured" gas made by baking coal in an airless environment. Artificial gas had only one half the heating capacity of natural gas, was not as clean-burning, and left oily residues. The most common type of gas heater was the "side-arm," so named because it was



—Shows a Cimax Solar-Water Heater supplying bath-room and kitchen. A small tank (D.) with ball cock is used to keep the heater charged. E.—Is the cold water supply. F.—Is the drain cock for removing the water to prevent freezing. Arranged as above, the hot water can be carried to several bath-tubs, pantry, sinks, etc.

In a typical turn-of-the-century water heater, metal coils inside a cookstove warmed the water which was then stored in a connected holding tank. Butti/Perlin & Assoc., Venice



attached to the side of an uninsulated hot water tank. The side-arm was not automatic. It had to be lit with a match. The water took a while to travel through the heating coils inside the side-arm and into the adjacent tank. And when the water got hot enough, "the tank would start jumpin' and you knew it was time to shut it off," said one plumber who installed them. If you forgot,

You might get your hand scalded or get a face-full of steam if you opened the hot water faucet. There were times when they would split a tank. We had this one house where this woman started [the] side-arm and went uptown and when she came back the back of the building was blown off!³

Besides being dangerous, these early gas heaters were too expensive for many families to use. The price of artificial gas was about \$1.60 per thousand cubic feet around the turn of the century.⁴ Taking inflation into account, it cost more than ten times what a family now pays (1980) for a quantity of natural gas with comparable heating capacity. As exorbitant as gas prices were, electric rates were even worse; no one even considered heating water with electricity.

Fortunately, a much safer, easier, and cheaper way to heat water was discovered—metal water tanks, painted black and simply placed where there was the most sun and the least shade. These were the first solar water heaters on record, and they worked. A prospector testified that sometimes "the water would get so damned hot you'd have to add cold water to take a bath."⁵

The problem with these rudimentary solar heaters was not whether they could produce hot water but when and for how long. Even on clear, hot days it usually took from morning to early afternoon for the water to get hot. And as soon as the sun went down, the tanks rapidly lost heat because they were bare and unprotected from the night air.

These shortcomings came to the attention of Clarence M. Kemp, a Baltimore, Maryland, inventor and manufacturer. Kemp sold the latest in home heating equipment, including devices that produced artificial gas from coal for those living on large estates, and gas and coal stoves for the average homeowner. But fossil fuel-consuming appliances weren't his only concern. In 1891 he patented a way to combine the old practice of exposing bare metal tanks to the sun with the scientific principle of the hot box, thereby increasing the tank's ability to collect and retain solar heat. Kemp called his invention the Climax, and it became the nation's first commercial solar water heater.

Kemp sold the Climax in eight sizes. The most popular model was the smallest, a 32-gallon heater that sold for \$25 and measured 4½ feet long, 3 feet wide, and 1 foot deep. The largest heater held 700 gallons of water and had a price tag of \$380. Every model contained four long, cylindrical water tanks made of heavy galvanized iron painted a dull black. They lay horizontally next to each other inside a pine box insulated with felt paper and covered by a sheet of glass. The box was usually installed on a sloped

roof or on brackets at an angle to a wall, so that the tanks lined up one above the other. The tanks were completely filled with water, which was then heated by the sun.⁶

To draw hot water from the tanks, a faucet in the bathroom or kitchen was opened. In a house with pressurized plumbing, cold water from the inlet pushed solar-heated water out of the tanks and down to the bathtub or sink. If the home had gravity-feed plumbing, opening the faucet drew hot water from the tanks. Cold water refilled the tanks from a small reservoir located above the heater. A float valve in this reservoir allowed it to refill. In either system, a drain allowed the tanks to be emptied before the onset of freezing weather so that the water would not turn to ice and split the tanks.

Kemp advertised the Climax as "the acme of simplicity" compared with conventional heaters. Just turn on the faucet and "instantly comes the hot water," boasted the sales literature. Housewives could avoid the terrible heat of lighting the stove in the summer, and "gentlemen who occupy their residences alone during the summer months, while their families are absent, can have the convenience of hot water without delay or attention." Of course, one of the main selling points was that a solar heater did not cost anything to operate.

In the Maryland area, Kemp claimed, the Climax could be used from the beginning of April until the end of October—producing water hotter than 100°F on sunny days even during early spring and late fall when daytime temperatures sometimes approached freezing. In areas of the country like California, the climate and fuel situation made the Climax even more attractive. Sunshine almost year-round meant free hot water most of the year and extra savings because energy costs were high on the West Coast. California had to import coal at a price over twice the national average, and artificial gas was also expensive. As one

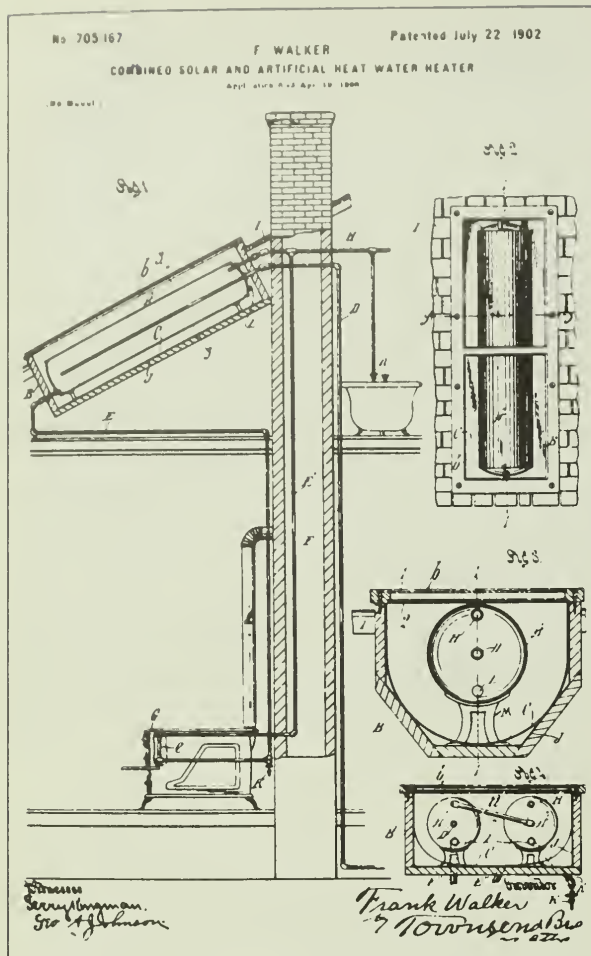
journalist wrote, it was essential for Californians to "take the asset of sunshine into full partnership. A builder cannot afford to waste his sun rays."⁷

Two Pasadena businessmen, E. F. Brooks and W. H. Congers, recognized the potential market for solar water heaters in southern California. In 1895 they paid Kemp \$250 for the exclusive rights to manufacture and sell the Climax in California. Sales took off so quickly that just three years later, Mrs. Sarah Robbins was willing to pay Brooks and Congers ten times what they had paid Kemp for just the southern California rights to the Climax. That same year Richard Stuart purchased the northern California rights for \$10,000.⁸

Climax installations spread from Pasadena to much of California and Arizona. By 1900 they topped the 1,600 mark in southern California alone. Economy was a prime lure of the Climax. For an investment of \$25, the average homeowner saved about \$9 a year on coal—and more if artificial gas was used for water heating. Landlords also considered the Climax a wise choice—like Samuel Stratton who outfitted his six flats with solar heaters. *The Pasadena Daily Evening Star* called Stratton "a level-headed businessman who knows a good thing when he sees it."

One satisfied Climax household, the van Rossems, had their solar heater on the southwestern side of the roof of their house (located near the present site of the Rose Bowl). Walter van Rossem, who was a child at the time, recalled that solar heaters became so popular that he and the others in the neighborhood did not think of them as anything out of the ordinary. "Everybody had one," he said. "There was nothing uncommon about it at all. I can't remember a house on the block that was built at the time or soon after that that didn't have a solar heater."⁹

Van Rossem appreciated the Climax because he didn't have to fire up the stove very often to heat water. "What the heck," he confessed, "I didn't like



Inventor Frank Walker, who served on the Los Angeles city council in 1900, patented this solar heater in 1902. The drawing shows how the heater could be linked to an auxiliary heat source — the kitchen stove. Butti/Perlin & Assoc., Venice

In the wintertime usually there were a couple of kettles sitting on top of the wood stove heating. They were used for dishes and a lot of things because the water in the solar heater never got as hot in the wintertime as it did in the summertime.

Still, even on cloudy days “you’d be surprised how much it would heat up,” van Rossem remarked.

From the turn of the century until 1911, over a dozen inventors filed patents for improvements on the Climax. But only a few designs turned out to be technically and commercially successful. One of these was patented in the spring of 1898 by Los Angeles contractor and realtor Frank Walker. The Walker heater had only one or two cylindrical thirty-gallon tanks. The tanks were set inside a glass-covered box, but the box did not protrude from the roof like the Climax—it fit inside the roof with the glass cover flush with the rooftop. This arrangement afforded somewhat better insulation and looked less obtrusive.

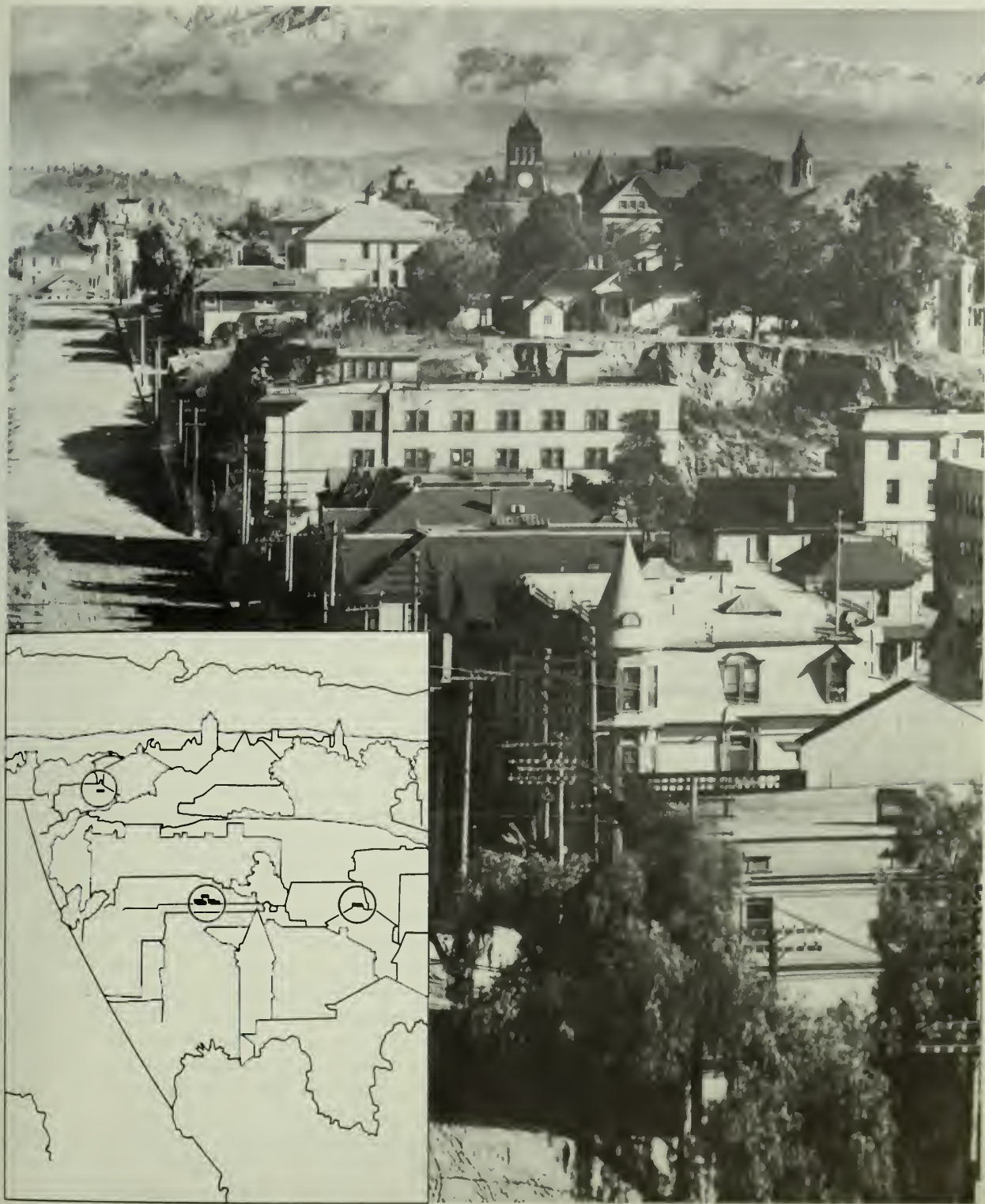
But the major advantage of the Walker heater over the Climax was that it was hooked into the conventional water heating system to ensure hot water at all times. At night or during inclement weather, cold water from the bottom of the solar water tank ran down a pipe to a heating coil inside the wood or coal stove or gas heater. Afterwards the heated water—which is less dense than cold water and rises naturally—flowed up through a second pipe leading to the top of the water tank. People found this method more convenient and cheaper because two sets of plumbing—one for the solar heater and one for the conventional heater—were no longer necessary.¹⁰

The Walker cost less than \$50, including installation. While this was more than a similar-sized Climax, many customers throughout southern California willingly paid for the additional benefits.

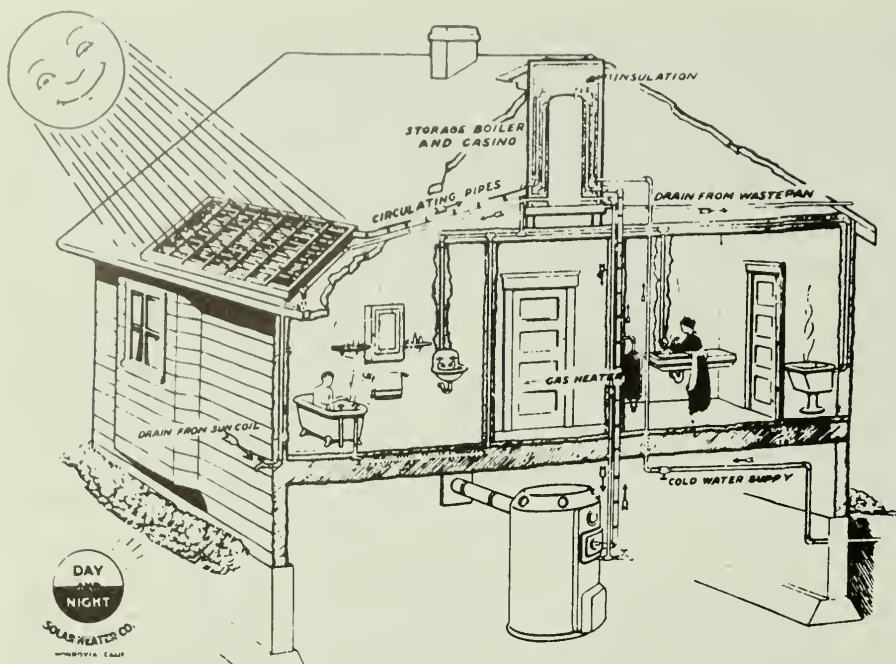
to chop wood any better than anybody else did!” The rest of the family also appreciated the solar heater, though there were a few drawbacks. Van Rossem discussed how well the Climax performed:

On an ordinary sunshiny day . . . by afternoon, my mother and our housekeeper would have enough hot water for baths and by evening there would be enough for us kids. Whether we had hot water the next morning depended on how much we used the night before. If we didn’t use all the hot water up, it stayed fairly warm—enough to wash your hands and face.

As for laundry, van Rossem said the water was “hot enough for a small amount of washing, the things the women wore, but when we did the heavy washing, the stuff we kids wore like our overalls, we always had to boil water on the stove.” Moreover, he noted, the seasons affected the amount of hot water available:



By 1900, Climax water heaters appeared on the roofs of several buildings lining downtown Los Angeles' Olive Street (see diagram). Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History



*In this Day and Night Solar Heater installation drawing, the solar-heated water rose from the collector to the storage tank above.
Butti/Perlin & Assoc., Venice*

In 1905 the rights to manufacture and sell the Climax in California were acquired by a branch of the Solar Motor Company, a firm founded by Aubrey Encas. Charles Haskell managed the Los Angeles headquarters of the business, which was listed under the name of the Solar Heater Company.¹¹

Haskell made a basic change in the design of the Climax water tanks. Noticing that it took many hours for the relatively deep body of water in the four cylindrical tanks to heat up, he decided to replace them with one large but shallow rectangular tank. It held the same total volume of water, but with less water per square foot the sun's heat penetrated more quickly and produced hot water earlier in the day. Like Walker's model, Haskell's was usually connected to a conventional water heating system that took over during unfavorable weather.

The Solar Heater Company called this updated model the Improved Climax. It was usually placed either on or in the roof, facing the direction with the best solar exposure. According to one of the company's installers, the Improved Climax worked quite well:

Even on a foggy day, the first one to use it would get warm water. But of course, on a sunny day it would be much hotter. Why, hell's bells! You'd have to use the cold with it

because you couldn't stay under the shower with just the hot water turned on. It really got hot!¹²

Customers were just as laudatory. Los Angeles Superintendent of Buildings J. J. Backus, for example, wrote a testimonial that appeared in a 1907 issue of *The Architect and Engineer of California*:

I take great pleasure in saying that after a thorough trial extending over a year and a half, our solar heater continues to give just as much satisfaction as when first installed. I am ready to admit that [at first] we were unreasonably prejudiced against the heater, and feel that refusing to let you install one in my house for so long a time after you first approached me upon the subject, we lost a great deal of comfort and convenience.¹³

In southern California and in many areas further north, the Improved Climax and its predecessors, the Walker and the Climax, supplied large quantities of hot water for seven to eight months of the year—the Climax and Walker models heating water up to 120°F by late afternoon, and the Improved Climax reaching this temperature earlier in the day. But a serious defect hampered the effectiveness of these solar water heaters. While they lost heat less quickly than the early bare-tank heaters, their insulation consisted of only a pane of glass and a wooden box. The water did not remain hot for very long, especially on cloudy,

cool days. Even under the best conditions, the water never stayed hot enough overnight to enable clothes to be washed in the morning. Kemp, Walker, and Haskell had brought the technology of solar water heaters a considerable distance in a decade and a half—but not far enough.¹⁴

In the summer of 1909, in a little outdoor shop in the Los Angeles suburb of Monrovia, an engineer named William J. Bailey began selling a solar water heater that eventually revolutionized the industry. It supplied solar-heated water not only while the sun was shining but for hours after dark and the following morning as well—hence its name, the Day and Night.

Bailey had worked for Carnegie Steel in Pennsylvania before he moved west in 1908 to seek a cure for his tuberculosis. He soon discovered that his physician, Dr. Remington, had been experimenting with solar water heaters. To heat water faster and store the heat longer, Remington separated the solar heater into two units: a solar heat collector and a water storage tank. The collector consisted of coiled pipe placed inside a glass-covered box that hung on the south wall of his house. The small volume of water in the pipe heated quickly. And instead of remaining outside where it would readily cool down at night or during bad weather, the hot water flowed through pipes to a conventional water tank in the kitchen.¹⁵

Bailey adopted Remington's idea of a separate collector and storage tank. But a good deal of heat still escaped from the tank because it was made of bare metal. For better heat retention, Bailey insulated the tank—a new concept in water storage for solar heaters. The average household-size tank made by Bailey held sixty gallons. It was encased in a wooden box, with powdered limestone between the box and tank

at a thickness of 3½ to 9 inches along the sides and top. Bailey guaranteed that the water in this storage unit would not lose more than one degree Fahrenheit per hour.

The Day and Night collector was better designed than earlier heaters. A key feature was the use of copper pipes that held only a small amount of water, as in Remington's model. But even more importantly, Bailey added a metal absorber plate to transmit the solar heat accumulated in the hot box to the water in the narrow pipes.

The collector pipes and plate were enclosed in a glass-covered box measuring about 55 square feet. Only 4 inches deep, the box was lined with felt paper. Bailey put a large vertical cold water inlet pipe made of iron at one end of the box, and a parallel hot water outlet pipe at the other end. To these two headers he connected a series of smaller transverse pipes made of 5/8 in. copper tubing. The array of pipes was welded to a copper absorber plate at the bottom of the box, and both the plate and pipes were painted a dull black. Cold water entering the collector through the inlet pipe split into streams that flowed through the copper pipes. The streams heated up as the absorber plate conducted solar energy to the pipes. In southern California the system produced hotter water than previous heaters—100 to 120°F on sunny winter days, and 115 to 150°F during the other nine months of the year.¹⁶

No pump was needed to circulate water between the collector and the storage tank. The Day and Night operated on the thermosyphon principle—that hot water is lighter than cold and rises naturally. The storage tank was located above the collector so that cold water in the bottom of the tank would be pulled by gravity down a pipe to the collector inlet. After it passed up through the copper pipes, the heated water rose through the outlet pipe and into the top of the water tank. This influx of hot water forced

more cold water out the bottom of the tank and down to the collector. The cyclic flow continued as long as the water in the collector remained hotter than the water in the bottom of the tank.

The collector was usually installed on the south-facing slope of the roof. It was a heavy piece of equipment and hoisting it into place was not easy. According to William Crandall, a Day and Night installer, the crew would tie a rope around the collector and "just by mean strength" pull it up on the roof on a set of skids. If putting the collector on the south side of a roof was impractical, they installed it as an awning, on the ground, or on brackets on the north side of the house in such a way that the collector would still get good solar exposure.¹⁷

Installers usually placed the storage tank in the attic, making sure that the tank was higher than the collector. If the roof was too low, a hole cut in it allowed the tank to protrude above the roofline. The exposed section of the tank was then camouflaged with gray felt or roofing paper, holding-cloth, and stucco so that it resembled a chimney.

To ensure plenty of hot water during periods of bad weather or heavy use, Bailey advised customers to provide an auxiliary heater. The Day and Night could be connected to a wood stove, gas heater, or coal furnace. In places where people could obtain and afford electricity, a small electric insert heater was sometimes placed in the storage tank. This heater turned on automatically when the water dropped below the desired temperature.

Newspapers hailed the Day and Night as the "*ne plus ultra* of solar heaters," for it could "heat water and keep it hot under conditions that would render most other heaters of little or no use."¹⁸ Nevertheless, at \$180, Bailey's invention faced stiff competition—a similar-sized Improved Climax cost much less. Before long, though, the Day and Night won over the buying public. Ned Arthur, one of the five

original employees hired by Bailey in the early years of the business, elaborated:

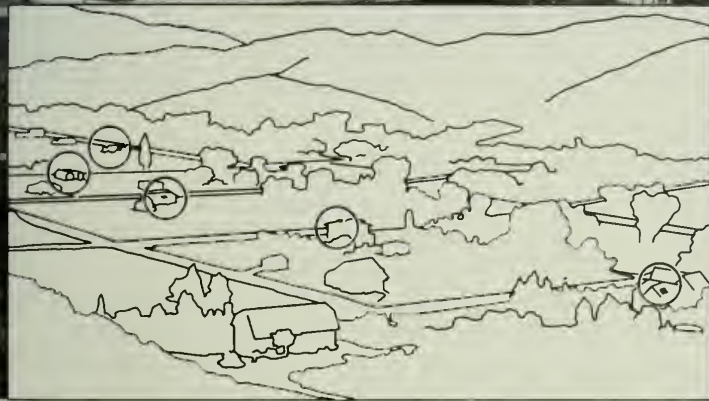
It was always a battle; if someone was going to buy a solar heater, Climax was on the job and I was on the job, and we fought like tigers. But after we got a few heaters in people saw the advantage of having water hot at night and Climax was out.¹⁹

Unlike other solar water heaters, Bailey's product could supply hot water in the morning so that people did not have to wait until afternoon to do such chores as the laundry. "Many of our customers are reporting that they are putting out their entire washings early in the morning," one ad proclaimed. "Ask your neighbor if she can do this with her old-style heater." Furthermore, the Day and Night's long-lasting hot water enabled city residents to use their auxiliary gas heaters less frequently. Whereas the Climax reduced gas consumption by 40 percent, the Day and Night reduced it by 75 percent. In rural districts where there was not gas available, the demand for the Day and Night was also great because less coal or wood was needed.²⁰

The Day and Night soon began to edge out its rivals, but there was still a segment of the public that did not think any commercial solar heaters were worth buying. Paul Squibb, a rancher, spoke of the skepticism among some of his neighbors:

When they first began putting in these Day and Night jobs, old timers were giggling about how silly they were. They'd say, "You couldn't get water any hotter than if you just stood a can full of water out in the sun." One poor guy nearly got the skin burned off himself. He said he'd put his hand in any water heated by the sun and the poor guy got an awful roasting. He jerked his hand out before he lost his skin!²¹

Demonstrations set up at fairs and at the Day and Night office gave others a chance to test the company's claims of "steaming hot water day and night."



One advertisement challenged:

Step in some cloudy morning following a day of sunshine, hold your foot in the water from the heater for five minutes, and we will give you the heater. Cork legs are barred from the test.

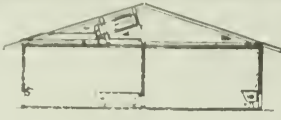
Such publicity stunts helped the Day and Night to catch on, and in 1911—two years after Bailey had first opened up shop—the company was incorporated and moved to a larger plant.

Bailey's business continued to grow. But in the winter of 1913, a freak cold spell that hit southern California nearly pulled the company under. "Lowest temperatures ever known were reported in orange districts early this morning. In some locations the thermometer registered 19 or 20 degrees with the mercury still falling," read the front page story in the *Los Angeles Times* on January 13. The water inside many Day and Night collectors froze, and the copper pipes "popped like popcorn all over the county," said Day and Night employee Ned Arthur. Bailey's son, William J. Bailey, Jr., recalled that his father's tele-

phone "rang all night long—irate customers were having problems with water coming through their ceilings. That sent him back to the drawing board."²²

Bailey came up with a way to prevent such disasters. Instead of water, a nonfreezing liquid—usually a mixture of water and alcohol—heated in the collector and traveled to a coil inside the storage tank. The heat passed from the coil to the water in the tank, and the cooled liquid returned to the collector for another round. The liquid that flowed through the collector gave off its heat to another liquid outside the collector without the two ever coming into direct contact. Aside from taking care of the problem of freezing, making the collector's circulation system independent of the hot water supply in the storage tank had another advantage. In areas with very hard water, the collector could be filled with a mixture of alcohol and distilled water so that the tubing would not become encrusted with mineral deposits.



Bailey made some other improvements in the Day and Night collector at this time. He did away with




**SOMETHING
NEW**
in line of
SOLAR HEATERS

Hot water all night
Hot water early mornings
Hot water 24 hrs. a day during sunny weather
Hot water on a rainy or totally cloudy day
following day of sunshine

Day and Night Solar Heater Co.
205 S. Myrtle Avenue
(1 block north of the Park)
or
Any Reliable Plumber

**SOLAR
Water Heater**



**let the SUN give you plenty of
Hot Water DAY and NIGHT**

Hot water "all night, early in the morning, twenty-four hours a day during sunny weather, and even on a cloudy day following a day of sunshine," boasted this Day and Night solar heater advertisement in the *Monrovia News*, July 10, 1909.

Day and Night sales brochure c. 1923.

OPPOSITE: Oil wells such as these on Los Angeles' Court Street c. 1901 transformed residential areas of the city into oil fields, spelling an end to the use of solar water heaters. CHS Title Insurance and Trust Collection, Los Angeles

the iron headers and transverse pipes, substituting what he dubbed the Sun Coil design. A series of parallel pipes running horizontally were connected to each other at alternate ends with U-shaped fittings, so that they formed one continuous length of tubing in a zig-zag configuration. The tubing was then soldered to the copper absorber plate. This arrangement made the flow of water through the collector more efficient. The water entered at the bottom of the coil, and as it heated it rose up more quickly and out the top of the collector. Later Bailey switched from using copper pipes for the coil to $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. galvanized steel, which was more widely available.²³

With a circulation system that eliminated the danger of frozen water pipes, Day and Night's business flourished once again in southern California. Sales began to take off in other parts of the American Southwest, too. Two brothers, C. M. Eye and H. A. Eye, bought the rights to the Day and Night for Arizona and New Mexico in 1913 and set up their headquarters in Phoenix. They wasted no time in marketing the heater. By the following year a reporter for *Arizona Magazine* acknowledged that "the sight of the Sun Coil is becoming as familiar on Salt River Valley homes as in California, where they had been in general use for years."²⁴ Soon Day and Night heaters also spread to Hawaii. But in northern California, solar water heaters were not as readily accepted. As Ned Arthur described the problem,

It was awfully hard to break in. Everywhere I went . . . people would say, "Oh well, they'll work in southern California but they won't work up here."²⁵

Determined to prove the Day and Night's feasibility, Arthur arranged a demonstration in Palo Alto—near San Francisco. It was "right on the main street in the heart of town," he recounted. A sign attracted the attention of passersby with the message, "Hot Water From California Sunshine—Try It!" An arrow



pointed to a faucet connected to a Day and Night heater. It was a convincing test—painfully so, for “people would come by and scald their hands. I sold heaters right and left,” said Arthur. This marketing strategy worked equally well in dozens of rural towns in northern California.

As Day and Night’s reputation grew, the manufacturers of the Walker and Climax heaters were forced out of business. The solar water heater became synonymous with Day and Night’s name. Bailey’s only remaining competition came from local plumbers and do-it-yourselfers. Because the basic design of the heater was not very complicated, “the man who was handy with tools and pipe wrenches could build his own,” as a trade magazine commented in 1914. One plumber in Ramona, California, sold collectors made of galvanized iron pipe coiled in a zig-zag pattern on an absorber of black tarpaper set inside a glass-covered box. A Santa Barbara plumber built a collector out of coiled pipe strapped to a copper absorber instead of welded to the plate as in the Day and Night model. People made storage tanks out of ordinary hot water tanks, which they boxed in and insulated with any coarse, dry material such as sawdust, ground cork, or rice hulls. Such heaters never had much impact on Day and Night’s business, though, and by the end of World War I over 4,000 Day and Night heaters had been sold. In 1920 alone, over 1,000 people bought Bailey’s system.²⁶

But 1920 turned out to be the peak year for sales of solar heaters. Between 1920 and 1930, huge discoveries of natural gas were made in the Los Angeles basin. Gas production soared and fuel prices plummeted. By 1927, consumers could get natural gas for about a fourth of what artificial gas cost in 1900. Networks of new pipelines brought cheap natural gas to urban and rural areas that formerly had no gas supplies.

Instead of trying to buck the trend toward gas, Bailey decided to capitalize on it. He began selling a Day and Night gas water heater that eliminated the objectionable features of the old-fashioned side-arm. His gas heater used some of the techniques that had made the solar heater such a success. A copper heating element conducted gas heat to the water, just as the copper absorber transmitted solar heat to the liquid in the solar collector pipes. And the gas heater’s storage tank was now insulated, as was the solar tank. Moreover, Bailey added a thermostat that automatically heated the water to the desired temperature. “No trouble, no fuss—simply turn the dial indicator,” ran a Day and Night ad promoting its new gas heater. “All the hot water you need, heated quickly and kept hot in an insulated tank, constantly awaiting your needs.”

The gas companies provided economic incentives to customers buying gas water heaters—one of many programs they initiated to encourage gas consumption. “They’d finance gas water heaters on a

Above the carport, resting inconspicuously on the roof of this Craftsman-style home is a Day and Night solar collector. Even on a cloudy winter day in 1915, this thoroughly modern Monrovia family heated its water the solar way. Butti/Perlin & Assoc., Venice

monthly basis or let you carry 'em for a year or two," a retired plumber related. "The gas company would do anything to get you buyin' from them." In addition to easy terms, they offered cut-rate prices and free installation.²⁷

It was an unbeatable combination—cheap, accessible supplies of gas, the convenience of an automatic heater, and financial breaks that made purchasing a gas heater much easier on the pocketbook than paying for a solar heater. Solar water heaters were abandoned, and new purchases of the Sun Coil dropped drastically. In 1926 Day and Night sold only 350 solar heaters; four years later, a meager 40 were installed. As Ned Arthur put it, "Whenever a gas main would run out into the country, our solar heater sales quit." Bailey's old slogan of "steaming hot water day and night" now meant water heated by gas, and his company became one of the largest producers of gas water heaters in the nation.

Day and Night continued building and selling solar heaters in California—but at a greatly reduced level. Bailey's company sold a total of over 7,000 heaters before it stopped manufacturing them at the beginning of World War II. The last production run was made in 1941, according to William J. Bailey, Jr., and would have carried solar water heating technology more than halfway to Australia—but fate intervened:

Pan American Airlines bought a big lot of them and had intended to ship them out to the South Pacific to put them on Canton Island. That was the time when Pan American flew the old Clipper Ship runs to Australia, and Canton Island was the stopover point. They wanted hot water there and using solar was the only way they could get it. Those water heaters were on the dock in San Francisco, ready for shipment, when Pearl Harbor came along. They were never shipped.²⁸

Excerpt reproduced with permission from *A Golden Thread: 2500 Years of Solar Architecture and Technology* (Palo Alto: Cheshire Books, 1980).



Notes

1. Interview with Luba Perlin, who lived on a ranch in California's Soledad Mountains. General information regarding domestic hot water systems at the turn of the century is from Royce G. Kloeffer, "Water Heating in the Home," *Kansas State Agricultural Bulletin II* (June 1, 1921), pp. 1-35. This is probably the most thorough study of domestic hot water heating systems in that period. An excellent economic analysis of these units is included.
2. Interview with Theodore Hotchkiss, engineer and long-time resident of Monrovia, California.
3. Interview with William Ingalls, a retired plumber who opened a shop in 1916.
4. *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington: Department of Labor, 1919), p. 576.
5. Interview with James Harrison, a retired Nevada prospector. Technical information regarding the performance of bare-tank heaters can be obtained from F. A. Brooks, "Use of Solar Energy for Heating Water in California," *Report of the California Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 602* (1936), p. 7.
6. Size and price information, as well as advertising copy, for the Climax Solar Water Heater are taken from a sales brochure published in 1902 by the Clarence M. Kemp Manufacturing Company, Baltimore, Maryland. It was found in the Lawrence B. Romaine Trade Catalogue Collection, Department of Special collections, University of California at Santa Barbara.
7. Lee McCrae, "Utilizing Sun Rays in a Home," *Countryside Magazine*, 23 (October 1916): 203.
8. Patent Assignment Records, Customer Relations Office, U.S. Patent Office, Washington, D.C.
9. The figure of 1600 Climax Solar Water Heaters sold in southern California is taken from an advertisement in *The Los Angeles Times*, (June 3, 1900), Part 1, p. 7. Information about Samuel Stratton is taken from "The Solar Water Heater," *Pasadena Daily Evening Star*, (August 17, 1896), p. 1. The van Rossem quotes and other pertinent information are from a private interview with the former Pasadena resident.
10. Background information on Frank Walker appeared in James M. Guinn, *A History of California and Its Southern Counties* (Los Angeles: Historical Record Company, 1907), p. 871. Technical information on Walker's solar water heater is from U.S. Patent 705,167 (April 19, 1898).
11. Concerning the ownership of the Solar Heating Company, makers of the Improved Climax, see *Articles of Incorporation for the Solar Motor Company* (California: July, 1903).
12. Interview with installer Jim Bailey.
13. "Praise for Solar Heater," *The Architect and Engineer of Cali-*

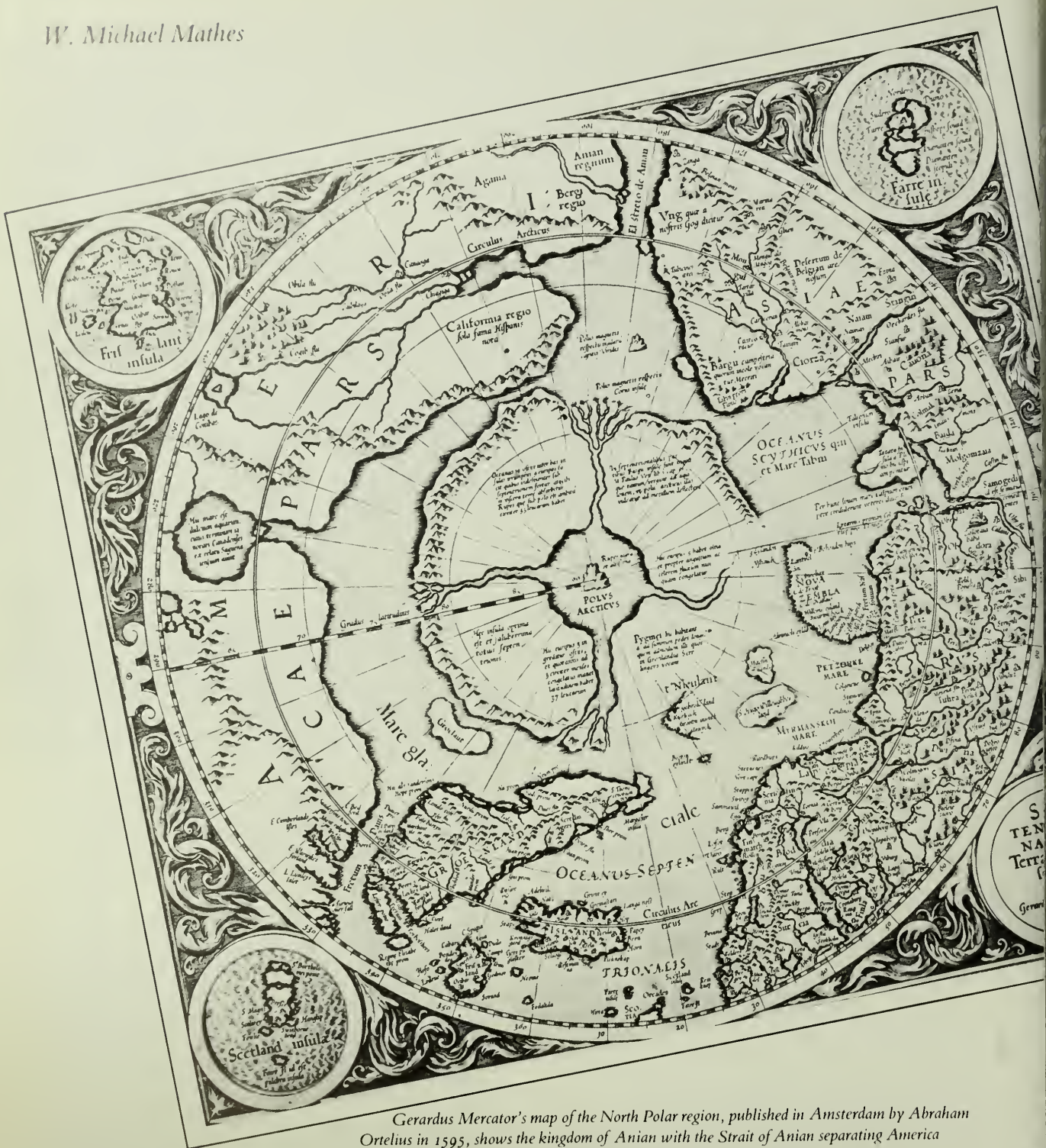


formia, Vol. 8 (March, 1907), p. 98.

14. The performance of glass-covered tank solar water heaters is evaluated in Brooks, pp. 35-37.
15. Information regarding the birth of the Day and Night solar water heater was obtained from interviews with Edward "Ned" Arthur, one of the company's five original employees.
16. Technical details on the Day and Night solar water heaters come from interviews with Edward "Ned" Arthur, the late William Crandall, a Day and Night installer, and the Day and Night Solar Water Heater Company Installation Guide (1912).
17. Interview with William Crandall.
18. "Solar Heater—A Monrovia Perfects a New and Improved Heater," *Monrovia Daily News*, July 3, 1909, p. 1.
19. Interview with Edward Arthur.
20. Advertisement appearing in *Monrovia Daily News*, July 17, 1909, p. 1.
21. Interview with former schoolteacher, Paul Squibb.
22. Interview with Bailey's son, William J. Bailey, Jr.
23. Technical data concerning Bailey's freeze-protected solar

water heater are from: Day and Night Solar Water Heater Company Sales Brochure (1914), U.S. Patent 1,242,511 (October 9, 1917); F. A. Brooks, "Use of Solar Energy for Heating Water in California," pp. 52-54.

24. "Let the Sun Do the Work," *Arizona Magazine* (October, 1913), p. 9.
25. Interviews with Edward Arthur.
26. The trade magazine observations come from "Old Sol Harnessed for Domestic Service," *Metal Worker, Plumber and Steam Fitter*, Vol. 81 (May 29, 1914), pp. 711-712. The number of solar heaters sold by Day and Night was estimated by examining corporate records in archives referred to as "The Morgue" at BDP (Bryant, Day and Night, and Payne) Corporation located in La Puente, California. A Day and Night sales brochure, "The Day and Night Solar Water Heater" (published circa 1925) confirms these estimates.
27. Interview with Robert Carroll, an early Santa Barbara plumber.
28. Interview with William J. Bailey.



Gerardus Mercator's map of the North Polar region, published in Amsterdam by Abraham Ortelius in 1595, shows the kingdom of Anian with the Strait of Anian separating America from Asia. California appears as a peninsula extending above the Arctic Circle. Author's collection.

APOCRYPHAL TALES of the Island of California & Straits of Anian

Spanish security in the Pacific Ocean ended on September 16, 1578, when the English corsair, Francis Drake, entered that great sea. The subsequent devastation caused by the Englishman and his crew, together with their apparent disappearance following the sacking of Guatulco on the Oaxaca coast of New Spain on April 13, 1579, produced a flurry of activity and widespread concern throughout Spain's empire.¹

Although Drake had done extensive research prior to leaving England, detailed geographical knowledge of the Pacific was a closely guarded Spanish secret, and his monumental circumnavigation of the globe would not have been possible had he not captured experienced Portuguese and Spanish pilots and seamen during his voyage who provided concise sailing directions. While the names and nationalities of most of Drake's captives and hostages are unknown, several persons released following the Guatulco raid gave depositions that provide insight into this aspect of the voyage. Considered abettors of the Protestant English and traitors to Catholic Spain, pilot Nuño da Silva and Juan Pascual, prisoners aboard Drake's *Golden Hinde*, as well as Simón de Miranda, vicar, and Francisco Gómez Rengifo, factor, hostages at Guatulco, were interrogated extensively by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Furthermore, the Alcalde Mayor of Guatulco, Gaspar de Vargas, provided both eyewitness and hearsay testimony about the English presence there.²

In a lengthy letter of April 14, 1579, to Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almanza, Vargas described the attack, English strength, nature of the crew and speculated about Drake's future plan. In discussing the presence of foreigners among the crew, Vargas stated: "All that I have been able to find out is that the men . . . think that the name of the pilot of the ship

[*Golden Hinde*] is Morera."³ The same day Vargas gave a formal deposition in which he stated only that the pilot was Portuguese. Subsequent depositions given by the released captives failed to provide the name of Drake's pilot, and by mid-1580 the matter was closed.⁴

Although the Guatulco raid was the last documented contact between Drake and the Spanish in New Spain, speculation about his return route to England caused great concern in Spain due to predominant sixteenth-century geographical concepts about the Pacific coast of North America.⁵ The first of these—that of a northern water passage between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans located between 30° and 60° North latitude called the Strait of Aníán—was based upon the Greek concept of global symmetry established by Anaximander in the sixth century B.C.⁶ Thus, the existence of water passages around the southern extremes of Africa and South America implied the existence of similar passages across the northern extremes of Europe and America, the latter being of great strategic value both to northern European nations desirous of breaking Spain's trade monopoly in Asia⁷ and to Spain as a means of retaining that monopoly.

As a part of *Terra Incognita*, the Strait of Aníán was conceived as either a strait between northeast Asia and northwestern America permitting access to trans-Arctic navigation, or as a waterway separating Arctic North America from the continent with a westerly entrance somewhere to the north of California. Envisioned as an island twenty-three years prior to its discovery,⁸ despite extensive explorations by Fernando Cortés (1535), Francisco de Ulloa (1537), Hernando de Alarcón (1539) and Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo (1542),⁹ with those of Ulloa and Alarcón to the headwaters of the Gulf of California demonstrating it to be a part of the continental mainland, California was still popularly thought to be an

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island by many navigators and geographers, although it was generally depicted as a peninsula by sixteenth-century European cartographers.¹⁰

Due to Drake's unobserved return to England and uncertain knowledge of the California coast, Spain feared that he had discovered the Strait of Anián, thus placing her trans-Pacific commerce in jeopardy.¹¹ Under any circumstances, England had gained access to the Pacific as well as information about Spain's trade patterns and weak defenses in the area. To reduce the already high risks of trans-Pacific navigation, provide a defensive midway port between Manila and Acapulco, and search for the Strait of Anián, Spanish expeditions under Francisco Gali (1584), Pedro de Unamuno (1587), Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño (1595) and Sebastián Vizcaíno (1602–1603) explored the California coast, and while no settlement of the region was accomplished, these expeditions both clarified as well as confused the geographical concepts of Pacific North America.¹²

The detailed charting of the California coast from Cabo San Lucas to Cape Mendocino achieved by Sebastián Vizcaíno was soon overshadowed by the reports, memoranda, and correspondence of his second cosmographer, Discalced Carmelite Fray Antonio de la Ascensión who, between 1608 and 1632, firmly established the concept of California as an island with the entrance to the Strait of Anián as its northern terminus.¹³ While its greatest propagandist, Fray Antonio was not alone in his belief in the strait, for as early as the decade 1530–1540 rumors of its discovery by the Portuguese circulated, and a globe by Gemma Frisius, c. 1535, had depicted it. Later cartographers Giacomo Gastaldi (1562), Abrahamus Ortelius (1564) and Bolognino Zaltieri (1564) showed a water passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic,¹⁴ and fruitless, tragic searches for the Northwest Passage, as the strait was called from its Atlantic approaches, were made by the English navigators

Martin Frobisher (1576–1578) and John Davis (1585–1587). Although these and subsequent approaches to the strait from the Atlantic openly failed, by the early seventeenth century two individuals, Juan de Fuca and Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, claimed to have traversed it from the Pacific.¹⁵

Juan de Fuca, one Apostolos Valerianos, a native of Cephalonia off the Greek coast, in the summer of 1596 in Venice met Michael Lok and John Dowlass, two Englishmen, and recounted to them the story of a voyage he had made a few years earlier. In 1587, Fuca stated, he had come to New Spain aboard the *Santa Ana* and had lost 60,000 ducats of his personal fortune to the English circumnavigator Thomas Cavendish. Upon his arrival in Mexico, Fuca continued, he was selected by the Viceroy, due to his forty years of meritorious service to Spain, to lead an expedition of three ships and 100 men to fortify the Strait of Anián, but this expedition failed because of mutiny.

In 1592, Fuca continued, he had again been sent to Anián by the Viceroy, this time with one ship and one launch. Having reached a point on the California coast between 47° and 48° North latitude, Fuca claimed to have entered the Strait of Anián, and sailing through a land rich in gold and pearls, after twenty days entered the Atlantic. Returning to Spain, he received no reward, and thus, Fuca concluded, he had come to Italy in hopes of interesting the State of Venice in financing a return voyage.

Lok, a businessman and investor, became fascinated with Fuca's plan, and wrote to him on July 1, 1596, wishing to have more details. Fuca answered from Cephalonia on September 24, stating that he only required twenty men and the necessary funds to make the voyage and that he would leave immediately upon receipt of the money. It is not known whether or not Fuca was successful in securing funds from Lok; however, the impact of Fuca's story was

felt throughout Europe, and particularly in Spain.¹⁶

Possibly having heard of Fuca's claims, one Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado presented a lengthy memorial to the King of Spain in 1609 in which he described the mythical strait and suggested means for its occupation. Ferrer claimed that in 1588 he had sailed northwestward from Spain and, passing Greenland, had entered the Straits of Labrador where he proceeded inland for 640 leagues to a point in 75° North latitude where there were very high mountains. He then sailed southwestward for 150 leagues where he entered the Pacific Ocean through the Strait of Anián at the 60° North latitude. Ferrer further claimed that while in the shadow of the mountains there was much ice, at Anián the temperature was mild and often hot since the sun shone almost twenty-four hours a day. As a result there were many trees which bore fruit all year as well as an abundance of deer, rabbit, wild pig, partridge, shellfish, fish, and whales. Stating that he was at the strait from April to mid-June, Ferrer claimed that during that time he met some Hanseatic Lutherans who, speaking Latin, told him they used the strait to trade with China.

Because of this use of the strait by others, as well as recent English attempts to search for it and the French penetration of Canada, Ferrer continued, Spain should seek to control the strait since it would save over five million *pesos* a year in shipping costs and would enable direct trade and communications with China, the Philippines, Quivira (a mythical settlement in Northwestern America), and California. For the greatest security of the strait, Ferrer suggested the construction of forts at the exit into the Pacific as well as a chain across the mouth which was less than one mile wide at that point. In conclusion, Ferrer requested three ships with lead keels, two launches, eighteen cannon, 200 seamen, arms, munitions, and supplies for two years, at a cost of 47,077 *pesos*, so he might lead a secret expedition to fortify Anián.¹⁷

Two earlier, lesser known secondary reports also supported the existence of the Strait of Anián. Portuguese primacy in the exploration of Newfoundland (Terra Nova) and the surrounding regions was a fact well accepted in the sixteenth century, as was Portuguese exploration of the western Pacific. Thus, rumors of Portuguese discoveries abounded, and, in 1565, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, chief pilot of the Miguel López de Legazpi expedition to the Philippines and initiator of the return route from those islands to New Spain, recounted Portugal's discovery of the mid-Pacific *Islas Rica de Oro* and *Rica de Plata*, the presence there of an Armenian merchant, and the Portuguese discovery of Anián to a fellow Augustinian, Fray Andrés de Aguirre, while en route outbound from New Spain. Twenty years later in 1585, as a result of renewed Spanish interest in Pacific exploration, Aguirre reported these discoveries to the Viceroy of New Spain, Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras.¹⁸

These accounts by Augustinians in the Philippines were furthered on June 27, 1597, by Fernando de los Ríos Coronel, mathematician, navigator, and later, attorney general in Manila, in a report to the crown supporting exploration for the Strait of Anián submitted to Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas. According to Ríos Coronel, in an account by Augustinian Fray Martín de Rada who had also accompanied López de Legaspi, Urdaneta, and Aguirre in 1565, it was reported that a Basque from San Sebastián, Juanes de Rivas, had served on a voyage to Newfoundland, and during that time he had been told that, in 1545, Britons had entered the strait which had previously been used by some Portuguese to sail from Lisbon to China and India and back, with the return voyage requiring forty-five days. Further-

more, the account continued, one of the Portuguese voyagers had later gone to New Spain and served with Francisco de Ibarra in the conquest of the northern province of Nueva Vizcaya, during which time he had attempted to convince Ibarra to search for the strait which was reportedly located between 52° and 62° North latitude.¹⁹

The first-hand reports of Fuca and Ferrer Maldonado, as well as the secondary Augustinian accounts, were supported by yet another description of Anián and insular California received by Franciscan Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón and included in his manuscript "Relaciones de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo México se han visto y sabido, así por mar como por tierra, desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626," completed at the Convent of San Francisco, México, August 18, 1629.²⁰

118. Father Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, Discalced Carmelite Religious, one of the three who went with Sebastián Vizcaíno to the discovery of Cape Mendocino, gave me this report as a certainty, and for that reason I put his name here, and it states thus:

119. A foreign pilot named N. de Morera who entered with the Englishman from the North Sea to the South by the Strait of Anián gave this report to Captain Rodrigo del Río, at that time governor of Nueva Galicia. Captain Francisco Draque, in whose company he had come out-bound through the strait, upon returning to his native land found this pilot was very ill and more dead than alive, and to see if the climate of the land gave him life, as a dead thing they put him ashore; after a few days he recovered his health and walked through that land for a period of four years; he came out through New Mexico and from there to Santa Bárbara, and then went to the mines of Sombrerete in search of the aforesaid Rodrigo del Río, and the aforesaid pilot told him the following:

120. Having been given a lengthy report of his long pilgrimage he told him how the aforesaid Englishman, Francisco Draque, in the place of the Strait of Anián had put him ashore under the aforesaid circumstances and, after recovering his health, how he had traveled through

various lands through many provinces over 500 leagues on land until arriving to see an arm of sea which divides the lands of New Mexico from another very large land which is to the West; and that on the shore of that sea there were many as well as large settlements, among which there is a nation of white people who ride horses and fight with lances and daggers, and it is not known what nation this would be. The aforesaid Father Fray Antonio says he thinks they are Muscovites; I say that when we see them we will know who they are. This pilot stated how this arm of the sea ran from North to South and it seemed to him that it went on the Northern part to reach the harbor where the Englishman had put him ashore; and that on that coast he had seen many and good harbors and large bays; and that from the part where they had put him ashore it could be dared to go to Spain in 40 days in a good boat; and that it was necessary to go to recognize the court of England.

121. He offered to take the aforesaid Rodrigo del Río to the place of the arm of the sea which he discovered, and he said that easily he could pass to the other part.

122. This arm of the sea is held to be certainly that of California called the Red Sea, and the land that is on the other part is that of the Californias. As they told it to me I state it without removing or adding anything of my own.²¹

All of these reports, while unsupported by contemporary documentation and completely unacceptable on the basis of eighteenth and nineteenth-century exploration, possess certain common elements, true and untrue, and involve some real persons. In that the possession of Anián was a threat to Spanish security, non-Hispanics, all northern Europeans and particularly Protestants, English, and French, were reported to have knowledge of the strait.²² Furthermore, geographical and climatological evidence notwithstanding, the strait was reported to be ice-free and temperate, thus permitting an incredibly brief sailing time of from twenty to

"California, sometimes supposed to be a part of the western continent but . . . found to be a goodly Island," reads the caption on Henry Briggs' 1625 map of North America. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1.

ninety days between Europe and Asia.

While the account of Ferrer Maldonado differs basically from the others in that entry into the strait was made from the Atlantic, those involved with a westerly or southerly approach to Aníán share some specific details. The Urdaneta-Aguirre-Rada-Ríos Coronel reports emanated from the Philippines in the mid-sixteenth century through Augustinian friars, involved Portuguese exploration, and connected the knowledge of Aníán to that of the Islas Rica de Oro and Rico de Plata; both areas were directly involved with California and the security of Spanish trans-Pacific trade through the advocacy of their discovery by Ríos Coronel subsequent to the Vizcaíno expedition of 1602-1603.²³ These Augustinian accounts also originated at about the same time, since Urdaneta spoke with Aguirre in 1565 and Francisco de Ibarra carried out the exploration of the Sinaloa-southern Sonora coast in 1564-1565.

This involvement of Ibarra provides yet another common link between accounts of the discovery of Aníán. During the exploration of Nueva Vizcaya between 1563 and 1569, Ibarra was accompanied by a Portuguese Franciscan, Fray Pablo de Azevedo, although there is no documentary evidence to support his having served on Portuguese voyages nor advocated the search for Aníán. Furthermore, also present was Rodrigo del Río de Loza y y Gordejuela who served as Ibarra's lieutenant, and it was Río who reportedly later received the Morera report, thus connecting it to that of Rada-Ríos Coronel.²⁴ Nevertheless, this common involvement of Rodrigo del Río is vague, for in relation to both accounts he was merely present in the general area at those times in which reports of Aníán were supposedly circulated, and, in the case of the Morera account, severe discrepancies occur. Río was, in fact, involved in the settling of the mines at Santa Bárbara on the Río Florido (Chihuahua) in 1563, and Sombrerete be-



came a part of Nueva Galicia in 1570; however, Río was never governor of that province, but rather of Nueva Vizcaya from 1590 to 1596, while at the time of Morera's reputed return to Sombrerete, 1583, the governor of Nueva Galicia was Antonio Maldonado, president of the *audiencia* in Guadalajara.²⁵


Further connections between the three foregoing accounts and that of Juan de Fuca exist through the involvement of the English circumnavigators Francis Drake (1578-1580) and Thomas Cavendish (1586-1588), both of whom captured pilot informants in South America. According to Fuca, he had been aboard the Manila galleon *Santa Ana*, taken by Cavendish at Cabo San Lucas on November 14, 1587, a statement totally unsupported by the extensive documentation surrounding that event.²⁶ On the other hand, on December 5, 1579, Drake captured one Juan, a Greek, at Valparaíso and subsequently set him adrift north of Callao, and Cavendish likewise reported capturing a Greek pilot off Valparaíso eight years later.²⁷ Morera, reputedly Portuguese and thus Moreira, whose existence was only corroborated by hearsay in the Vargas testimony, was also purported to have been a captive of Drake, taken sometime prior to the attack on Guatulco.

Although some factors linking the Aníán reports may be coincidental, some additional considerations tend to reject mere coincidence. Common to all the accounts is a total lack of supporting documentation, official correspondence, testimony, minutes, and decrees, all of which are abundant in the Archivo

General de Indias, Sevilla, and Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, relative to Spanish exploration in western North America in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.²⁸ While Spanish policy was one of secrecy regarding new discoveries, it did not preclude the formation of files and dossiers relative to them for restricted use by such high ranking royal officials as viceroys, *oidores* and *consejeros* of the Council of the Indies; there is no dearth of detailed documentation regarding expeditions which made discoveries of equal strategic value as that of Aníán.²⁹ Furthermore, in addition to the lack of documentation supporting the actions of the claimants Fuca and Morera, more remarkably there is a total absence of inquisition testimony about them in the many depositions taken subsequent to the Drake and Cavendish voyages, especially given the fact that they were both foreigners who had served, voluntarily or involuntarily, aboard vessels captained by English corsairs, and that standard procedure in the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain required extensive interrogation by the Holy Office of foreigners as well as Spaniards involved in piratical activities.³⁰

Because accounts of voyages through the Strait of Aníán and of the existence of the Islas Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata are self-evidently false and the concept of California as an island erroneous, the question arises about the rationale behind their intention. In the case of Urdaneta, Aguirre, and Rada, rumor and hearsay, common during the early years of discovery, appear as basic causes; ulterior motives may be discounted in that the authors sought no personal gain, while Fuca, Ferrer Maldonado, and, to a lesser degree, Morera sought financial gain and glory. Far more significant, however, is the tactical value derived from the perpetuation of these accounts in relationship to Spanish exploration and settlement on the Pacific coast of North America. As long as the geography of the region remained in doubt and the threat of foreign encroachment was a reality, a need

for such exploration and settlement existed. While reports of Aníán and the Islas Ricas aided the actions of viceroys Pedro Moya de Contreras (1585–1590), Luis de Velasco (1590–1595), and Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey (1595–1603) in mounting expeditions to California,³¹ they were of far greater influence in the seventeenth century when used by Fray Antonio de la Ascensión.

Desirous of establishing Carmelite missions in California, fascinated by the region, proud of his participation on the Vizcaíno expedition, and credible due to his formal training as a cosmographer, Fray Antonio acquired an extensive collection of documentation relative to California and Aníán and skillfully employed it to sustain interest in continued exploration of the area. Supported through early mythology and the Morera report, he successfully established the concept of insular California, and, through the reports of Aníán, placed its entrance on the North American mainland at the northernmost extreme of the island. This geographic configuration thus provided access to the strait from Asia by direct sailing around the northern end of the island, or from Peru and New Spain via an inside passage, the Gulf of California, allowing direct voyages from the Pacific Ocean to Europe as well as maritime supply to New Mexico. Zealous for the salvation of souls and the glory of his monarch, imaginative and literate, logical and insistent, Fray Antonio was not above conscientiously justifying to himself the need for exaggeration and elaboration, as well as minor fabrications, in promoting his concepts to bring about the settlement of his beloved California.³² His success is measured by the persistence of the depiction of the island of California and Strait of Aníán in cartography, and the voyages of Nicolás de Cardona, Francisco de Ortega, Pedro Porter y Casanate, Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero, and Francisco de Lucenilla to the Gulf of California in search of the strait during the seventeenth century.³³ 

Notes

1. For a detailed account of Drake's voyage, see: Richard Carnac Temple, ed. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (London: Argonaut Press, 1926).
2. Zelia Nuttall, *New Light on Drake* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), pp. 213-15, 238-41.
3. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (AGI), Patronato 266, no. 6; *Ibid.*, 213-15.
4. Nuttall, *New Light*, 245-52, 323-42, 347-59.
5. W. Michael Mathes, *Sebastián Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), pp. 12-14.
6. Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 32-34; David B. Quinn, ed. *New American World* (New York: Arno Press, 1979), I: 5-29.
7. From 1580-1640 the Spanish crown also ruled Portugal, thus reducing Asian commerce to a totally Iberian monopoly.
8. "On the right hand of the Indies there was an island called California, very near the region of Earthly Paradise. . . ." *Sergas de Esplandián* (Medina del Campo: Garcí Ordóñez de Montalvo, 1510), Chapter 157.
9. For details, see Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929); W. Michael Mathes, ed., *The Conquistador in California, 1535* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1973).
10. Bagrow, *History*, 125-40; Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), I: 13-110.
11. AGI, Patronato 265, 266. Correspondencia sobre Francisco Drake, 1579-1584.
12. Gali reported currents which were considered to be the outlet of Aníán; Esteban López, survivor of the *Tres Reyes*, in 1603 reported a great river which was thought to be the strait. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 14, 104.
13. W. Michael Mathes, ed. *Californiana I: Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California: 1583-1632* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965), documentos 80, 87, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 188; *Californiana II: Documentos para la historia de la explotación comercial de California: 1611-1679* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1970), documento 38.
14. Henry R. Wagner, *Apocryphal Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1931), 5-6; Wagner, *Cartography*, I: 53-67.
15. Later English attempts to find the Northwest Passage were made by George Weymouth (1602), James Hall (1605), John Knight (1606), and Henry Hudson (1610). For details see: Quinn, *New American World*, IV: 190-297.
16. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 51-52.
17. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 118-19; Wagner, *Apocryphal Voyages*, 8-13.
18. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 7, 12-13; Wagner, *Apocryphal Voyages*, 42-52.
19. AGI, Filipinas 18; Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 176-78. Rada was elected provincial of the Augustinian province of the Philippines in 1572. Isacio R. Rodríguez, *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas* (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1965) I: 69, 159.
20. The manuscript was first published in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, III serie, IV (México: Vicente García Torres, 1856-1857), later in *Documentos para servir a la historia del Nuevo México* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1962). A poor translation was published in *Land of Sunshine*, XII (February 1900), and a more recent edition in Alicia R. Milich, *Relaciones by Zárate Salmerón* (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1966). The original manuscript is in: Archivo General de la Nación, México, Historia 2.
21. Original translation from *Documentos para servir a la historia del Nuevo México*, 197-99.
22. Hanseatic Lutherans and Muscovites may well have been confused with the English Muscovy Company. The term "Lutheran" used by Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries applied to all Protestants.
23. Ríos Coronel was a strong advocate of the settling of the Islas Ricas as a port for the Manila galleon. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 117-20.
24. J. Lloyd Mehan, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927), pp. 113, 160, 171.
25. *Ibid.*, 69, 90, 113, 160, 171, 233; David P. Henige, *Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), pp. 313, 316.
26. Mathes, *Californiana I*, documentos 8-14.
27. Wagner, *Apocryphal Voyages*, 11-13.
28. José María de la Peña y Cámara, *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958); Luis Sánchez Belda, *Guía del Archivo Histórico Nacional* (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958); *Índice de Documentos de Nueva España existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1928-1931), 4 vols.
29. Vicente Lloréns Asensio, *Catálogo de la Sección 1ª Real Patronato. Archivo General de Indias—Sevilla*. Sevilla: Centro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas, 1924). Documents relating to real expeditions are not scarce; those related to geographical "discoveries" which history has proved to be fiction are conspicuous by their total absence.
30. AGI, Patronato 265, 266; Archivo General de la Nación, México, Inquisición, 1566 vols.; see also works cited in note 28.
31. Mathes, *Vizcaíno*, 12-13, 44-45, 50-57.
32. See documents cited in note 13.
33. Mathes, *Californiana II*, *passim*.

San Francisco June 17th 1857

My dear Sir

The good will with which you regarded me in 1850, & more the favorable estimate of my abilities which led you to confer a different Government appointment. I am bringing myself to your recollection the application to public

for 25 years has been such as to allow me to vote but twice in that time. I cannot be considered a partisan politician. Had I been such of the ruling party I should have been pleased with the office of U.S. Marshal in this district. It otherwise at least on the record. Still I feel bound in remembrance of me for my connection to offer you any services in my power and do so like to you who with Mr Webster first honor a Government Commission. It is for you to decide any service to the Government. You will oblige me

Respectfully
Yours
Thos O Larkin

Thos O Larkin
Jan 11/57
A Fremont lawyer for
Office

Had previously held
three appointments from Govt
while Buchanan was the 15th

Office Indefinite
Thos O Larkin
Calif

Secretary to acknowledge.
I know you can read &
then address to you
in with much respect
(Thos O Larkin)

The Reluctant Retirement of Thomas O. Larkin

Thomas Oliver Larkin served his country with distinction in the mid-1840s as United States Consul to Mexican California, as President Polk's secret agent charged with encouraging California's separation from Mexico, and as agent for the United States Navy. These appointments terminated at the end of the war against Mexico. Larkin busied himself again with political affairs briefly during California's Constitutional convention in 1849 and in 1856 when he worked in California for the election of John Charles Frémont, the new Republican Party's first presidential candidate. Frémont failed to carry even his own state of California in his November defeat. According to Larkin biographer, Reuben L. Underhill, "[b]oth Frémont and Larkin now permanently retired from the uncertain field of politics."¹

Underhill's comment underscores the generally-held view that Larkin, following his government service during the 1840s, was content for the most part to tend to his business affairs and make money. Now a letter has been discovered which reveals that Larkin's retirement from public service was not from choice. Just two months after the 1856 election, Larkin wrote to James Buchanan, the President-elect, applying for an appointment, *any* appointment.

Larkin first saw California's shores in 1832. He had accumulated ten years of valuable business experience in North Carolina, all his ventures ending in failure. Seeing no future there, nor in his native New England, the twenty-nine-year-old Larkin accepted the invitation of his half-brother, John Bautista

Rogers Cooper, a ship captain, to come to California. Larkin's decision did not come easily. He was a patriotic American and was determined to remain so. He had "always dispised and detested" Mexicans and thought Monterey "the jumping off place of the world." The move to California indeed was his last preference from a number of possible paths in his quest for wealth. His first choice had been marriage to a rich cousin.²

Larkin lived in Cooper's house in Monterey for a time, putting the captain's accounts in order. Within a year, Larkin opened a general store and on June 10, 1833, married Mrs. Rachel Hobson Holmes, a fellow-passenger on the ship that brought Larkin to California. Mrs. Holmes had come to California to join her sea captain husband who died before they could be reunited. Thomas's and Rachel's first child was born four months before their marriage, the result of a shipboard liaison.³ Their next child, Thomas O. Larkin, Jr., born April 13, 1834, had the distinction of being the first surviving child born of United States citizens in California.

Larkin prospered for the first. He served an important middleman function in the flourishing hide and tallow trade, bartering directly with *rancheros* and ship captains. Plunging into other fields, he began sawing and shipping lumber, bartering with farmers in the interior for soap and foodstuffs, and trading with merchants in Southern California, Mexico and Hawaii. He soon opened a branch store in Santa Cruz.

Trade was the path to the fortune that Larkin so hungered for, and he proved remarkably adept at it in this golden land, but it was not his only preoccupation. He had hardly established himself in Monterey when he began to acquire a reputation as a "go-between." American ship captains called on him for advice and representation before the Mexican government. Because Monterey was the seat of the pro-

Dr. Hague, who teaches western history at San Joaquin Delta College, Stockton, is writing a biography of Thomas O. Larkin. He is also editing the journal of an argonaut who traveled the southern route to California in 1849.



Once the most influential United States citizen in Monterey, Thomas O. Larkin petitioned President Buchanan for a government position in 1857, one year before Larkin's death. Stephen W. Shaw painted this posthumous portrait of Larkin. Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento

OPPOSITE: Larkin arrived in Monterey in 1832, when the village was the sleepy military and social capital of Alta California. Hermann J. Meyer engraved this view of Monterey based on a sketch by Bayard Taylor in 1850. Author's collection

vincial government, Larkin was frequently asked by American-Mexicans to represent them before government tribunals. Speaking fluent Spanish now, an obvious leader in the tight community of resident Americans and a spokesman for itinerant Americans, Larkin became the logical contact for Mexican officialdom on matters concerning all naturalized Mexicans living in California and United States citizens.

By the early 1840s, Larkin was acting virtually as the unofficial representative of the United States in California. Indeed, he was the *only* really influential American in California, most other Americans of note having become Mexican citizens. It was thus inevitable that when strained relations between the United States and Mexico in the early 1840s pointed to the need for an official American presence in Monterey, Larkin would be chosen.

The appointment of Larkin as consul in 1843 was logical, wise, and even prophetic. The manifest destiny passion had swept the United States, and a prime target of the expansionists was California. Larkin, not unaware of American affairs, eagerly questioned travelers for the latest word from the United States

and badgered friends and relatives in the East to send him news. He hungrily read American newspapers though the issues might be months old, having come round the Horn, arriving in California via Hawaii and then being passed around among Americans for weeks before reaching him.

Larkin was far from unhappy in Mexican California, but he believed that the prize inevitably would fall to the United States. Convinced that most Californians would welcome the change in sovereignty, or at least would not resist it, he became the foremost advocate of a peaceful transfer of sovereignty and worked in subtle ways to achieve it. If Larkin had had more time, and if hotheads and adventurers had exercised more restraint, he would have succeeded. The agony of the Mexican War, like other wars, was caused by impatience and ambition.

Soon after the war's conclusion, Larkin's government appointments ended, and he returned to his neglected commercial interests. A boom was on the horizon for the new American outpost on the Pacific, and Larkin would have his share. He acquired ranches on the Sacramento River, speculated in land in Benicia, San Francisco, Sacramento and Monterey, ventured briefly into a quicksilver mining scheme and invested in trade with Mexico and China. Larkin also profited enormously from the discovery of gold—not from mining, but from servicing miners and the other new immigrants who flooded into California.

As Larkin's business activities flourished and diversified, and as his fortune increased accordingly, his interest in affairs of state seems to have waned. He was a delegate from Monterey to the Constitutional Convention in 1849, but his role does not appear to have been major. In the 1856 presidential campaign,



he worked for the election of Frémont. Thereafter, historians have assumed, Larkin took no more personal interest in government.

By the mid-1850s, Larkin was looking backward more frequently. Though by now a very rich man, he was not at the center of things as he had been in the 1840s when he had been recognized by officialdom and the public alike as a leading resident, and the foremost American in the province. His counsel had been widely sought then, and his hospitality famous. A visit to the Larkin home had always been a memorable occasion.

The rapid increase in population following the end of the war against Mexico changed all that. Larkin was a *paisano*, one of the few Anglos who had been in California before the conquest. Aware of his special place in history, Larkin wanted the world to remember the *paisanos* and dutifully compiled a list of Americans and British subjects who were living in California before 1840.⁴ They had had good times, the *paisanos*, and they had survived the bad times. In 1856, Larkin found himself yearning for the "halcyon days" before 1846.⁵ Larkin, it seems, could say with Alexander Hamilton, that this "American world was not made for me."⁶

Perhaps it was nostalgia that led Larkin in early 1857 to apply for a government appointment, to be once again at the center of things. He had enjoyed the pomp and prestige that came with his government positions. Or maybe he was simply bored. His motivation remains a mystery because nowhere in Larkin's surviving papers does he mention a renewed interest in a government position.

Whatever his reasons, Larkin wrote to President-elect Buchanan in January 1857, applying for any post that Buchanan might offer. The signed letter in Larkin's hand is a single long sheet, folded to form four pages, approximately 8" × 10" each. The letter is written on the front and the two facing pages inside, while the identification of the letter, written by a state department employee, appears on the fourth side. The letter, folded twice to form an envelope-size parcel approximately 3" × 8", is in the National Archives, Records of the Department of State, Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administrations of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, 1853–1861. The letter is printed here for the first time, verbatim.



Mr Young⁷

San Francisco Jan. 17 1857

Sir

The good will with which you regarded me in 1845-7, and more, the favorable estimate of my abilities which led you to confer on me three different Government appointments, induces me to again bring myself to your remembrance.⁸ Knowing as I do the application with which you have devoted yourself to public affairs, I can hardly flatter myself that amidst the engrossing duties of the high position you hold, you have continued to bear me in mind. Still, should you do so, and know that I favored the election of Col. Fremont, it might appear strange to you. I knew him intimately for years, in every phase of life, [he] had the indorsement of yourself & other great men for his talents. I thought his election uncertain & informed him that you would carry this state. yet I thought a trial for him was for the interest of California. In this city, I with hundreds of others felt compelled to oppose the local democracy.⁹ The result of the city election shows that it was the will of a large majority that the extraordinary state of affairs here last summer should remain as a matter of history and not be continually referred too, and made the basis of future [end of page 1] contentions.¹⁰ These reasons for my political action of 1856 I give as due to you who first placed me in a delicate & highly flattering Government employment in 1846 and honored me with a cordial letter of thanks for my services.¹¹

When I tendered you my resignation of the commission the President and yourself had bestowed [bestowed] on me, I offered you my services in any employment in Mexico that a knowledge of the people, their language, customs & laws for twenty years might have fitted me for.¹² The speedy close of the war, however rendered such services unnecessary. I now again offer you my services in any temporary commission in Mexico in any of the many negotiations in which your administration will be engaged with that Republic. As private gentlemen or as Government officers. I know the Mexicans well. In 1845 I demonstrated to the authorities of Cal. the fate of their devoted country, that they must loose it, province by province. What share I had in bringing about that result here, & in opposing the earnest endeavours of the English & French to obtain a foothold in California, you may remember. Having been intimate for some years with our lately elected Senators,¹³ I was pleased to advocate their nomination & election. I presume that party tactics, & party feeling would prevent them, or you from naming me for a prominent office here in your gift. From the fact that my position [end of page 2] for 25 years has been such as to allow me to vote but twice in that time, I cannot be considered a partizan politician. Had I been such of the ruling party, I should have been pleased with the office of U. S. Marshall in this district. its otherwise at least on the record. Still I feel bound in remembrance of our former connection to offer you any Services in my power. I can do no less to you who with Mr

Built in 1835-37, Larkin's two-story adobe home was the scene of official gatherings and sparkling private parties given by the hospitable host. CHS, San Francisco

Webster first honored me with a Government commission.¹⁴ Its for you to decide if I can be of any service to the Government & to you, public or private[.] You will oblige me by allowing your private Secretary to acknowledge the reading of this letter, as I know you can read & reply to but a portion of the letters addressed to you.

I am with much respect
Hon. James Buchanan [signed] Thomas O. Larkin
President Elect
U.S.A.

[end of page 3]

Thos. O Larkin
Jan 17/57 San Francisco
A Fremonter begs for
office

Wholly Indef¹⁵
Thos O Larkin

Entd [Entered]¹⁶
Had previously held
three appointments from Govt.
while Mr. Buchanan was
Sec of State

1857
Office Indefinite¹⁵
Thos. O Larkin
Calif.

[end of page 4]

The "Fremonter begs for office" comment says it all. The notation probably was made by a tired state department clerk, likely Young, who had processed thousands of other requests for largess. It is possible that the busy President-elect never saw the application. Perhaps the "Fremonter" tag was sudden death for job-hunters in the new administration. If Buchanan did see Larkin's letter, he was too vindictive, or insufficiently impressed with Larkin's past services, or he simply had no suitable appointment

remaining. In any event, there is no evidence in Buchanan's files or in Larkin's papers that the letter was ever answered.

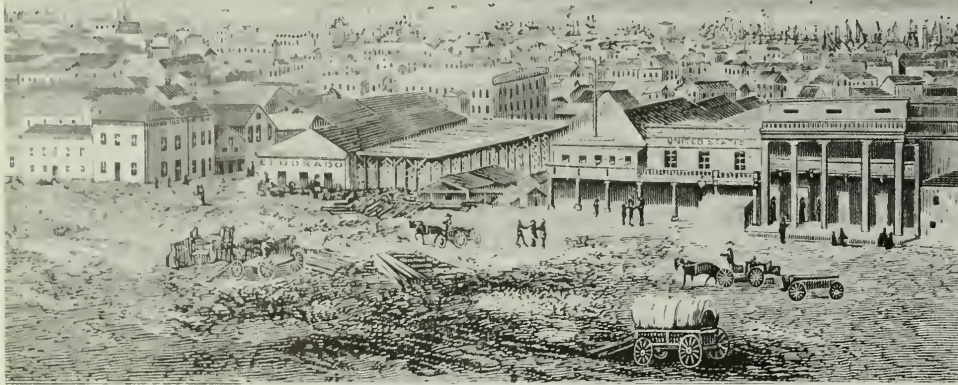
One wonders how long Larkin waited anxiously for each day's mail delivery before acknowledging to himself that the United States of America no longer needed his services. He did not long ponder that conclusion. He died the following year at the age of fifty-six. During his lifetime, he was never recognized in his state or in the nation as the most important person in the American acquisition of California. Nor is he awarded that distinction today, one hundred fifty one years after his arrival in Monterey.



Notes

1. Reuben L. Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece: A Narrative of California, 1832-1858, Based upon Unpublished Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Trader, Developer, Promoter, and only American Consul* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1939), p. 254. This uncritical work is frequently marred by the author's enthusiasm. The most reliable biographical information on Larkin is in several prefaces to George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers*, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951-1964).
2. Thomas O. Larkin to E. L. Childs, May 11, 1831, in Robert J. Parker, ed., *Chapters in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1939), pp. 57, 59.
3. John A. Hawgood, ed., *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California*, 2d ed. (Palo Alto, Ca.: Pacific Books, Publishers, 1970), pp. 140-42. When John Hawgood told Alice Larkin Toulmin, Thomas O. Larkin's granddaughter, that his research had confirmed the birth of the illegitimate child, Mrs. Toulmin responded, "Oh well, it must have been a very long voyage in those days[,] and I suppose there was little else to do." Though distressed, she insisted that Hawgood include the episode and the evidence in his book. *ibid.*, viii.
4. The list is printed in *ibid.*, 109-18.
5. Larkin to Abel Stearns, April 24, 1856, *ibid.*, 104.
6. The comment, in Hamilton's letter to Gouverneur Morris in 1802, is quoted in James Thomas Flexner, "The American World Was Not Made for Me: The Unknown Alexander Hamilton," *American Heritage* (December 1977), p. 77.

By the 1850s, the now very wealthy Larkin spent much of his time in the rapidly growing Yankee city of San Francisco. This engraving shows Kearny Street from Clay to Washington as it looked in 1850. CHS, San Francisco



7. This is a pencil notation, not in Larkin's hand. Robert W. Young was a state department clerk to whom the letter was referred for processing and filing.
8. The appointments were United States consul, confidential agent of the president, and United States Navy agent. Buchanan, secretary of state under President Polk, was Consul Larkin's superior.
9. San Francisco politics and government in 1856 were controlled by the Democratic Party which in turn was controlled by the corrupt New York-style machine of David C. Broderick.
10. Larkin refers to the actions of the Vigilance Committee of 1856. The committee had been formed by citizens who were convinced that local and state law enforcement agencies could not or would not cope with growing lawlessness in San Francisco. It appears that Larkin took no part in the committee's work. His letters are noncommittal, but correspondents, who strongly condemned the vigilantes in their letters to Larkin, would not likely have been so open had Larkin favored the Committee.
This is not to say, however, that Larkin disdained the results of their actions or their objective of reform. In the San Francisco city election of 1856, the fledgling Republican Party, which Larkin supported, welcomed the votes of the vigilantes and their followers who had decided that the Republican Party was the party of reform. At the same time, the Democratic Party, bent on vengeance, had attacked the program and the members of the recently-disbanded Vigilance Committee. See Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 234, and Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) p. 140.
11. Larkin probably refers to his appointment as President Polk's confidential or secret agent. The year was 1845, not 1846. Secretary of State Buchanan complimented Larkin in a number of letters, but the one to which Larkin almost surely refers here is Buchanan to Larkin, October 17, 1845, Hammond, ed., *Larkin Papers*, IV:44-47.
12. In that letter, Larkin asked Buchanan to "command my services in any business or service . . . conducive [sic] to the interest of our cause in California." Specifically, he volunteered to serve on a commission whose purpose would be to conclude the peace with Mexico and secure California for the United States. Larkin to Buchanan, August 27, 1846, *ibid.*, V:223.
13. William M. Gwin and David C. Broderick.
14. Secretary of State Daniel Webster appointed Larkin interim consul on May 1, 1843. *Ibid.*, II:360. The permanent appointment, dated January 29, 1844, was made not by Buchanan, but "By the President, John Tyler" and by Abel Upshur, then secretary of state. *Ibid.*, II:361-62.
15. The notations "Wholly Indefinite" and "Office Indefinite" indicate that Larkin was applying for no particular appointment, but would accept any available post. All of the notes on page 4 of the letter probably were made by state department official Robert Young.
16. This note simply indicates that the letter had been placed in state department files.

The Western History Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History

REVIEWS

James J. Rawls, *Reviews Editor*

On December 17, 1910, Los Angeles took a major step toward coming of age. Through the combined efforts of the Historical Society of Southern California, the Fine Arts League of Los Angeles, the Southern California Academy of Sciences, the Southern Division of the Cooper Ornithological Club, and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, the "Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art" was founded. Since 1910, the museum has changed and grown until it is now the largest museum west of the Mississippi and the fourth largest museum in the United States.

The original collections, such as those from the Historical Society of Southern California, have been consistently enriched and enlarged. In recent years—as is common among large institutions with ever-growing collections—space became a luxury at the Natural History Museum, and reading room areas, such as in the library, were encroached upon or altogether sacrificed to make space for expanding collections.

Then, in 1971, some extraordinary help was proffered to the Natural History Museum. This came in the form of a bequest to "the good people of Los Angeles" from the estate of Maximillian N. Lando, a Los Angeles optometrist. First, the bequest enabled the museum to create a major, permanent exhibit on the history of California and the Southwest. Second, it enabled the museum to establish a Western History Collection reading room where the museum's diverse and valuable material relating to the history of the Trans-Mississippi West could be housed and made available in suitable surroundings to researchers.

In the past, the responsibility for the material had been divided between the History Division of the museum and the Research Library. The Western History Collection brings much of this material together physically and all of it together bibliographically. Materials not located in the Western History Collec-

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"Poblanas," an 1840 hand-colored lithograph from *Viaje Pintoresco y Arguelógico de la República Mejicana* by Carlos Nebel. Coronel Collection

tion will be paged for the reader's use in the new facility.

The combined collections include such items as books, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals and journals, scrapbooks, microfilm, manuscripts, iconographic materials (photographs, maps, prints), and other ephemera such as theatre programs, calling cards, menus, death notices, and postcards. In the book collection are both primary and secondary source materials. Accounts of voyages and expeditions to the New World are represented by the work of Miguel Venegas, George Vancouver, and M. Duflot de Mofras. Various surveys of the territories provide both written and illustrative views of the land in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s. Additionally, there are accounts by various naturalists and scientists, such as Charles Scammon on the marine mammals and whale fishery of the northwestern coast of North America and Heinrich Lichenstein on the bird fauna of California.

The collection is rich in rare, early Californiana. Three works from the Ramage press of Agustín Zamorano exist in the collection; among them is the unique *Catecismo de Ortológia*, 1836, by José Mariano Romero. Other early printers, Santiago Aguilar and José de la Rosa, further strengthen the collection and add historic interest. The collection includes nineteenth-century city and county directories for Los Angeles and vicinity as well as Pacific Coast directories. Printed *Great Registers of Voters* for Los Angeles and many other counties from the late nineteenth century provide rich demographic resource materials.

The pre-1900 newspaper collection is one of the finest in the state. The collection has holdings from all the Southern California counties and from many of the northern counties. Newspapers from various western states, as well as a small collection of papers

from eastern states, provide an opportunity for historic comparison between affairs in the West and the East for the same period.

The Los Angeles newspapers in the collection are as varied in character and language as the populations they served. In addition to such early English-language papers as the *Star* and the *Southern Californian*, there are runs of other Los Angeles papers including the *Express*, *Herald*, *Capital*, *Tribune*, *Cactus*, and *Porcupine*. There also are French, German, Chinese, and Basque papers published in Los Angeles. As one might expect, the Spanish language newspapers are very well represented by such titles as *La Crónica* and *Las Dos Repúblicas*. Finally, such unique and rare papers as *El Amigo del Pueblo*, the *Fool Killer*, and the *Broad-Axe* are preserved in the collection.

The journal and periodical collection contains such standard titles as *Land of Sunshine* and *Overland Monthly*. It is particularly strong in periodicals from the 1880s and 1890s published in California. There are also rarer and more fugitive titles such as the *Osteopath* (1898), *Southwestern Empire* (1895), and *Angel Food* (1901). All current, pertinent titles are received in the collection.

The microfilm collection consists of over 700 rolls of film. In addition to runs of various newspaper titles, the collection covers such diverse subjects as the United States Census of California, 1852-1900; Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, California Superintendency, 1849-1880; Main & Winchester's Saddlery Warehouse Catalogue (1880s); and, from the Museo Naval, Madrid, copies of certain manuscript accounts of Pacific Coast explorers, such as Cabrillo, Vizcaíno, and Bodega y Quadra.

The photographic collection of prints and negatives is one of the richest and most frequently consulted portions of the Western History Collection.

There are approximately 200,000 images ranging from early daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes to glass and film negatives, most of which have never been reproduced. Early Los Angeles and surrounding communities and people important in the development of Southern California are included in the work of photographers Arion Putnam, George Steckel, Frederic H. Maude, and C. C. Pierce. Southwest Indian life was recorded on film by Adam Clark Vroman, who made several trips to Arizona and New Mexico around the turn of the century, and by A. A. Forbes, who documented the life of the Paiute Indians in the Owens Valley a decade later.

Two of the larger manuscript collections reflect the social and political life of prominent nineteenth-century Southern Californians Antonio F. Coronel and Ignacio Del Valle. Other individual accessions of unique interest include the 1839 diary of Indian Territory missionary John Alexander, calligraphy by Agustín Zamorano, notes on the California Indians by Hugo Reid, the Bear Flag letter of William B. Ide, and a description of Los Angeles in 1849 by Lt. E. O. C. Ord.

Extensive map holdings range from the Warren C. Shearman collection, which details New World exploration from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, to a large collection of real estate tract maps showing the growth and development of Los Angeles and Southern California. Other iconographic work includes birds' eye views of cities, handbills, and posters. The print collection contains color lithographs of life styles and costumes from nineteenth-century Mexico as well as a series of battle scenes from the Mexican War by Carlos Nebel. Other important research materials include some Baist and Dakin real estate and fire insurance atlases for Los Angeles, a nearly complete run of the original manuscript volumes of Los Angeles City and County Tax Assessment books, 1856–1889, and the *Great*



Register of Voters for Los Angeles City and County, 1866–1908.

The collection is indexed by a variety of files. The card catalogue includes not only monographs, but also provides access to articles in a wide variety of journals. It is especially thorough on the subject of Southern California Indians. The newspapers are indexed by title, as well as geographically and chronologically. The Owen C. Coy file indexes and abstracts articles from California newspapers on topics ranging from agriculture to transportation. A subject file is available for a portion of the general photo file. In addition, there are files which stand alone as sources of information, such as the Ferdinand Perret file which contains biographies of California artists.

The Western History Collection is open to researchers Tuesday through Friday afternoons from 1 until 4 p.m. Patrons are advised to call for an appointment so that materials not presently housed in the Western History Collection Library may be paged in advance.



In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Consulate, 1929 to 1936.

By Francisco E. Balderrama (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. xii, 137 pp. \$14.95).

Reviewed by José Cuello, specialist in Latin American and Hispanic Southwest history who is joining the faculty of Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

This new book sketches the roles of the Mexican consuls in assisting and occasionally harassing Mexican nationals and Americans of Mexican descent in Los Angeles and other Southern California localities during the Depression. The consuls were generally not active leaders in the Mexican community because of their standing as diplomatic agents of a foreign government cautiously trying to maintain friendly relations with the United States.

What the consuls did do was to respond to calls for assistance after Depression conditions exposed Mexican immigrants and American citizens to economic hardships, increased discrimination in employment and education, and campaigns of deportation and repatriation. The Los Angeles consul helped to organize a community relief society that spent part of its meager and hard-raised funds for the train fares of desperate people who could not or would not wait for government agencies to propel them into Mexico. The consuls worked behind the scenes to recruit Anglo support against discriminatory practices and legislation in education. However, when a consul ventured too far into the realm of American politics to suit Southern California officials, as did Ricardo Hill in organizing farm workers, the Mexican could usually be persuaded to transfer or muzzle the offending diplomat. In the area of religious freedom, at least two consuls aggravated rather than comforted the Mexican population of Southern California by trying to discourage religious processions that were interpreted as protests against the home government's anti-clerical policies. Reluctantly drawn into social and political issues by Depression circumstances, the consuls withdrew from their extra-diplomatic activities by directive of the Mexican government in 1936.

The author chose his subject because the consuls "responded with an unprecedented campaign in defense of la

raza" when the Mexican community looked to them for leadership (p. ix) and because other studies have treated consular participation in strike organization as a secondary aspect of the labor struggles between Mexican workers and their employers (p. 108). However, the author himself concludes that the unprecedented effort was of the most conservative and limited nature and that consular roles in many of the issues were indeed secondary. The implied promise of something more or of a reinterpretation is not realized and the result is a slim volume with no more than ninety pages in text.

This is not the major problem with the book. If an author asks penetrating questions and the sources are there to answer them by what they say or leave unsaid, the critical examination of a peripheral or secondary aspect can throw a great deal of light on the larger subject, in this case, the adaptation of a Mexican population to a suddenly more hostile environment in the United States Southwest. However, the focus on the Mexican consular service only as it relates to specific incidents and events affecting the Mexican community of Southern California robs us of any deep understanding of the organizational integrity of the services, its internal workings, and its relation to the larger Mexican political scene. At the same time, the focus on consular activity limits the probing of the author into the conditions of Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American life in Southern California to a depth that does not overwhelm the central topic of the study.

Most scholars interested in the subject are already conversant with the issues treated here. The book provides more details on the activities of the consuls, but hardly enough of these or enough new insights to merit monographic publication. One or two tightly-written articles would have been a better vehicle for this contribution to the historical literature.

From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience.

By Dino Cinel. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982. x, 347 pp. \$25.00.)

Reviewed by Felice Anthony Bonadio, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Although Cinel's splendid book is a wealth of information



Making the North Beach district its home, San Francisco's Italian community patronized stores such as the Pelligrini Grocery (shown here in 1923) at Stockton and Union streets which catered to an Italian-speaking clientele.

on the Italian immigrant experience in San Francisco, its major conclusions can be briefly summarized. Both change *and* continuity—and not one or the other of these two adaptive processes taken by itself—explain the lives of those Italians who settled in San Francisco during the last third of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. The largest number of Italians who came to San Francisco came with the intention of earning money, returning to Italy at the earliest opportunity, and living the good life as small landowners. Patterns of settlement, work, family life, and even personal objectives were strongly shaped by regional differences that survived passage from Italy and persisted long after settlement in San Francisco. Although San Francisco's Italians acquiesced in a certain amount of change, vivid memories of the past spurred them on in the effort to recreate the life they had left behind *and* build “miniatures” of their settlements in Italy.

Dividing his book into two parts, Cinel first provides a background account of Italian society before emigration became a mass phenomenon. Far from being a traditional, agrarian society supportive of the old, “premodern” order of things, Cinel argues, Italy was undergoing profound social and economic change that generated new aspirations among its peasant population. Not the least of these aspirations was the desire to increase the satisfactions of life by becoming small landowners. For a significant number of Italians, the collective solution to this problem was found not by accepting permanent relocation overseas, but by adopting San Francisco as a temporary home. Hence the irony of Italian immigration to San Francisco: a radical

attempt to find the means to improve life in the complex world of injustice and conflict that was Italy ends in California which presents a more viable alternative for personal betterment. Cinel concludes, “It took several decades and several trips across the Atlantic before Italians started to see emigration not as an extension of their lives in Italy, but as an end in itself.”

In the second part of his book, Cinel turns to examine Italian immigrant life in San Francisco. His major sources are the histories of almost 2,000 families followed over three generations. What emerges is a highly informed and detailed discussion of such important topics as residential patterns, occupations, population growth, family life, and return migration. Cinel focuses in particular on the interaction between the emigrants' changes in attitude and behavior as they grappled with new social and economic realities in San Francisco and their efforts to maintain some sort of continuity with the past. Here, as elsewhere in his book, Cinel introduces his discussion with a brief account of the historiographical “problem” involved in his investigation of each topic, a procedure that makes it easy for scholars to remind themselves just where and how his conclusions depart from other historians' analyses. On many topics, moreover, Cinel compares San Francisco's Italians with immigrants of other nationalities, and it is this comparative perspective that is enormously successful in getting behind the demographic figures and providing us with some of the most interesting passages and most interpretive insights.

The third part of Cinel's book deals with the transition among San Francisco's Italians from regionalism to na-

tionalism and, finally, to assimilation as a means of social organization. In skillfully elucidating a theme central to the Italian immigrant experience, Cinel provides additional support for the interpretation that a growing number of historians have advanced against an older view of American immigration history. San Francisco's Italians were neither alienated from society nor passive victims of forces they could not control; instead, they were active, enterprising participants who coped with and shaped their own lives in California.

No short review can do full justice to the variety and richness of Cinel's book. He has written an extremely fine piece of work, which is exhaustively researched, cogently argued, and handsomely produced. In every way it is a valuable and much needed contribution to our understanding of Italian immigration.

Family and Divorce in California, 1850-1890: Victorian Illusions and Everyday Realities.

By Robert L. Griswold. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982. xii + 254 pp. \$34.50 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)

Reviewed by John Mack Faragher, Assistant Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College and author of Women and Men on the Overland Trail (Yale University Press, 1979).

Over the past ten or fifteen years, historians have written a good deal on the history of family ideals in the nineteenth century, generally relying upon the mountains of prescriptive literature for men and women. But documents that provide a glimpse into the actual thinking of ordinary Americans on the workings of their marriages are hard to come by. In this interesting study of over four hundred divorce case records from two rural California coastal counties, Robert Griswold, of the University of Oklahoma, reveals the thoughts, hopes, expectations, and val-

ues of farmers and merchants, housewives and mothers. Griswold's study, along with other recent work in divorce records by Elaine May, Nancy Cott, and Linda Kerber, demonstrates the importance of these documents for scholars. Griswold clearly links his own work to theirs, as well as other works on the history of the family, effectively placing these otherwise obscure and unimportant historical actors within the emerging narrative of the social history of marriage and the family.

Griswold finds that the case records document a shift towards a companionate ideal of marriage and away from harsh, patriarchal, male-dominated relationships. Over the period 1850-1890, an increasing number of women initiated suits for divorce, and the court recognized complaints motivated by ideals of mutuality, the domestic power of women, and the necessity of men to respect their wives. Among his more interesting findings is the fact that women more often deserted a bad marriage than did men, suggesting that a vision of female independence and self-support was increasingly important. The records also offer fascinating, if fragmentary, glimpses of sexual and birth control practices.

Divorce records, however, contain built-in biases to which Griswold might have been more sensitive. The petitioners may have been precisely those people for whom the new attitudes and standards offered some solace. For the majority of married people who remained married, however, the patriarchal patterns these women complained about may have been more fatalistically accepted. The problem here is that we simply cannot know. Moreover, although there are farmers and laborers among Griswold's sample, the middle-class lawyers and judges who presented and decided these cases helped to shape the proceedings and the statements of the participants, as anyone who has had court experience knows too well. There are, in other words, doubts about the typicality of these cases, but nevertheless they suggest that patriarchal marriage had lost a good deal of its legitimacy by the end of the century.



California Check List

By Bruce L. Johnson,
Library Director

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Alsworth, Mary Dean (comp.). *More Gleanings from Alta California: Vital Records Published in California's First Newspaper, Year—1851*. Rancho Cordova, CA; Dean Publications, 1982. Order from: Dean Publications; 2204 El Canto Circle; Rancho Cordova, CA 95670.

Baltich, Frances. *Search for Safety: The Founding of Stockton's Black Community*. Stockton: Frances Baltich, 1982. \$5.95 (paper). Order from: Frances Baltich; Post Office Box 4513; Stockton, CA 95204.

Banham, Peter Reyner. *Scenes in America Deserta*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., A Peregrine Smith Book, 1982. \$14.95 (paper). Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

Barrett, Dora and Rose Cordeiro Miller. *My First Love Wears Two Masks* [San Francisco theaters, 1896–1906]. El Cerrito, CA: Seaview Press, 1981. \$20.00. Order from: Seaview Press; Post Office Box 32; El Cerrito, CA 94530.

Bates, Craig D. *Yosemite Miwok/Paiute Basketry: A Study in Cultural Change* [whole issue of *American Indian Basketry*, August 15, 1982]. \$6.95 (paper). Order from: American Indian Basketry; Post Office Box 66124; Portland, OR 97214.

Brown, Stephen. *The Pike (Past Its Peak)*. Seal Beach, CA: SCB Photographics, 1982. \$10.00 (regular paper edition); \$19.00 (signed edition, limited to 500 copies). Order from: SCB Photographics; Post Office Box 2991; Seal Beach, CA 90740.

California Artists Cookbook. Introduction by James Beard. Foreword by Henry T. Hopkins. Photographs by Chotsie Blank. New York: Abbeville Press, 1982. \$25.00. Order from: Abbeville Press, Inc.; 505 Park Avenue; New York, NY 10022.

Carranco, Lynwood. *Redwood Lumber In-*

dustry. San Marino, CA: Golden West Books, 1982. \$35.95. Order from: Golden West Books; Post Office Box 8136; San Marino, CA 91108.

Casc, Suzanne D. *Join Me in Paradise: The History of Guenoc Valley*. Middletown, CA: Guenoc Winery, 1982. \$24.00 (paper). Order from: Guenoc Winery; 21000 Butts Canyon Road; Middletown, CA 95461.

Conomos, T. J. (ed.). *San Francisco Bay: The Urbanized Estuary*. San Francisco: California Academy of Sciences, 1983. \$16.95 (paper). Order from: Secretary-Treasurer; Pacific Division, AAAS; c/o California Academy of Sciences; Golden Gate Park; San Francisco, CA 94118.

Cornelius, Wayne A. *The Future of Mexican Immigrants in California: A New Perspective for Public [Policy]*. La Jolla, CA: Program in United States–Mexican Studies; University of California, San Diego, 1981. Working Papers in U.S.–Mexican Studies, No. 6. \$3.50 (paper). Order from: Publications Department; Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies Q-060; University of California, San Diego; La Jolla, CA 92093.

Demoro Harre. *Electric Railway Pioneer*. Glendale, CA: Interurban Press, Trans-Anglo Books, 1983. \$24.95. Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

Dunlay, Thomas W. *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860–90*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982. \$21.95. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th Street; Lincoln, NE 68588.

Emanuel, George. *Ygnacio Valley, 1834–1970*. Walnut Creek, CA: George Emanuel, 1982. \$14.95. Order from: George Emanuel; 1317 Canyonwood Court; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.

- Frierman, Jay D. *The Ontiveros Adobe: Early Rancho Life in Alta California*. Roberta S. Greenwood, Principal Investigator for Greenwood & Associates. \$15.00. Order from: City of Santa Fe Springs, Redevelopment Agency; 11710 Telegraph Road; Santa Fe Springs, CA 90670.
- Griswold, Richard del Castillo. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. \$6.95 (paper; reprint of 1979 cloth edition). Order from: University of California Press; 2223 Fulton Street; Berkeley, CA 94720.
- Halligan, Jack. *The Ships Named Sacramento: The Sloop, the Gunboat, and the Fast Combat Supply Vessel*. Sacramento: Jack Halligan, 1983. \$2.50 (paper). Order from: Jack Halligan; 2409 Sixth Avenue; Sacramento, CA 95818.
- Harlan, George H. *Those Amazing Cab Forwards*. Greenbrae, CA: George H. Harlan, 1983. \$29.95. Order from: George H. Harlan; 180 Via Lerida; Greenbrae, CA 94904.
- Heig, Adair. *History of Petaluma: A California River Town*. Petaluma, CA: Scottwall Associates, 1982. Order from: Scottwall Associates; 841 B Street; Petaluma, CA 94952.
- Hudson, Robert V. *The Writing Game: A Biography of Will Inwin*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1982. \$15.75 (includes postage/handling). Order from: The Iowa State University Press; 2121 South State Avenue; Ames, IA 50010.
- Knoll, Tricia. *Becoming Americans: Asian Sojourners, Immigrants, and Refugees in the Western United States*. Portland, OR: Coast to Coast Books, 1983. \$22.50 (cloth); \$14.50 (paper). Order from: Coast to Coast Books; 2934 Northeast Sixteenth Avenue; Portland, OR 97212.
- Kockelman, William J., T. John Conomos, and Alan E. Leviton (eds.). *San Francisco Bay: Use and Protection*. San Francisco: California Academy of Sciences, 1983. \$17.95 (paper). Order from: Secretary-Treasurer; Pacific Division, AAAS; c/o California Academy of Sciences; Golden Gate Park; San Francisco, CA 94118.
- Levinson, Robert E. *The Jews in the California Gold Rush*. Berkeley: Judah L. Magnes Museum, 1983. \$22.85. Order from: Judah L. Magnes Museum; 2911 Russell Street; Berkeley, CA 94705.
- Miller, Henry. *Paint As You Like and Die Happy: The Paintings of Henry Miller, with Collected Essays on the Art of Watercolor*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1983. \$35.00. Order from: Chronicle Books; 870 Market Street; San Francisco, CA 94102.
- Miller, Joaquin. *Life Amongst the Modocs: Unwritten History*. 1893; reprinted, Eugene, OR: Union Press, 1982. \$7.95 (paper). Order from: Capra Press; Box 2068; Santa Barbara, CA 93120.
- Newton, Ralph and Janet. *An Old Account Book of Thomas Bowen's Customers in San Jose, Including Robert Livermore, 1837-1839*. Livermore: Livermore Heritage Guild, 1982. \$4.00, plus \$1.50 postage. Order from: Livermore Heritage Guild; Post Office Box 961; Livermore, CA 94550.
- Paquette, Mary Grace. *Basques to Bakersfield*. Bakersfield, CA: Kern County Historical Society, 1982. \$13.75. Order from: Pioneer Village Gift Shop; Attn: Marge Hopkins; 3801 Chester Avenue; Bakersfield, CA 93301.
- Pattiani, Evelyn Craig. *Queen of the Hills* [a history of Piedmont, California]. Reprint edition. Piedmont: Piedmont Camp Fire and Historical Society, 1982. \$15.00. Order from: Piedmont Camp Fire and Historical Society; 707 Highland Avenue; Piedmont, CA 94611.
- The Pike: On the Silverstrand* [comprising the Journal of Long Beach Historical Society, 1982-1983]. Long Beach: Long Beach Historical Society, 1982. \$10.00 (paper). Order from: Long Beach Historical Society; 4600 Virginia Road; Long Beach, CA 90807.
- Saroyan, William. *Births*. Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company, 1983. \$12.95 (cloth); \$6.95 (paper). Order from: Creative Arts Book Co.; 833 Bancroft Way; Berkeley, CA 94710-2287.
- Sellmer, Walter Bruno. *Sheriff of the Golden West* [in Marin County, California]. Detroit: Harlo Press, 1982. \$8.95 (paper). Order from: Harlo Press; 50 Victor Avenue; Detroit, MI 48203.
- Stephens, Lester D. *Joseph LeConte: Gentle Prophet of Evolution*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. \$32.50. Order from: Louisiana State University Press; Baton Rouge, LA 70803-1402.
- Tompkins, Gene. *California Adventure in Oil: A Pictorial Essay of Oil Drilling in California*. Laguna Hills, CA: Aegean Park Press, 1981. \$12.00 (paper). Order from: Aegean Park Press; Post Office Box 2837; Laguna Hills, CA 92653.
- Westphal, Ruth. *Plein Air Painters of California: The Southland*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1982. \$75.00. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Co.; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.
- Woll, Allen L. *The Hollywood Musical Goes to War*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1983. \$19.95 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper). Order from: Nelson-Hall Publishers; 111 N. Canal Street; Chicago, IL 60606.
- Yewell, John F. (ed.) *1983 Digest of California Labor Laws*. 23rd edition. Sacramento: California Chamber of Commerce, 1983. \$40.00. Order from: California Chamber of Commerce; Labor Law Digest; Post Office Box 1736; Sacramento, CA 95808.



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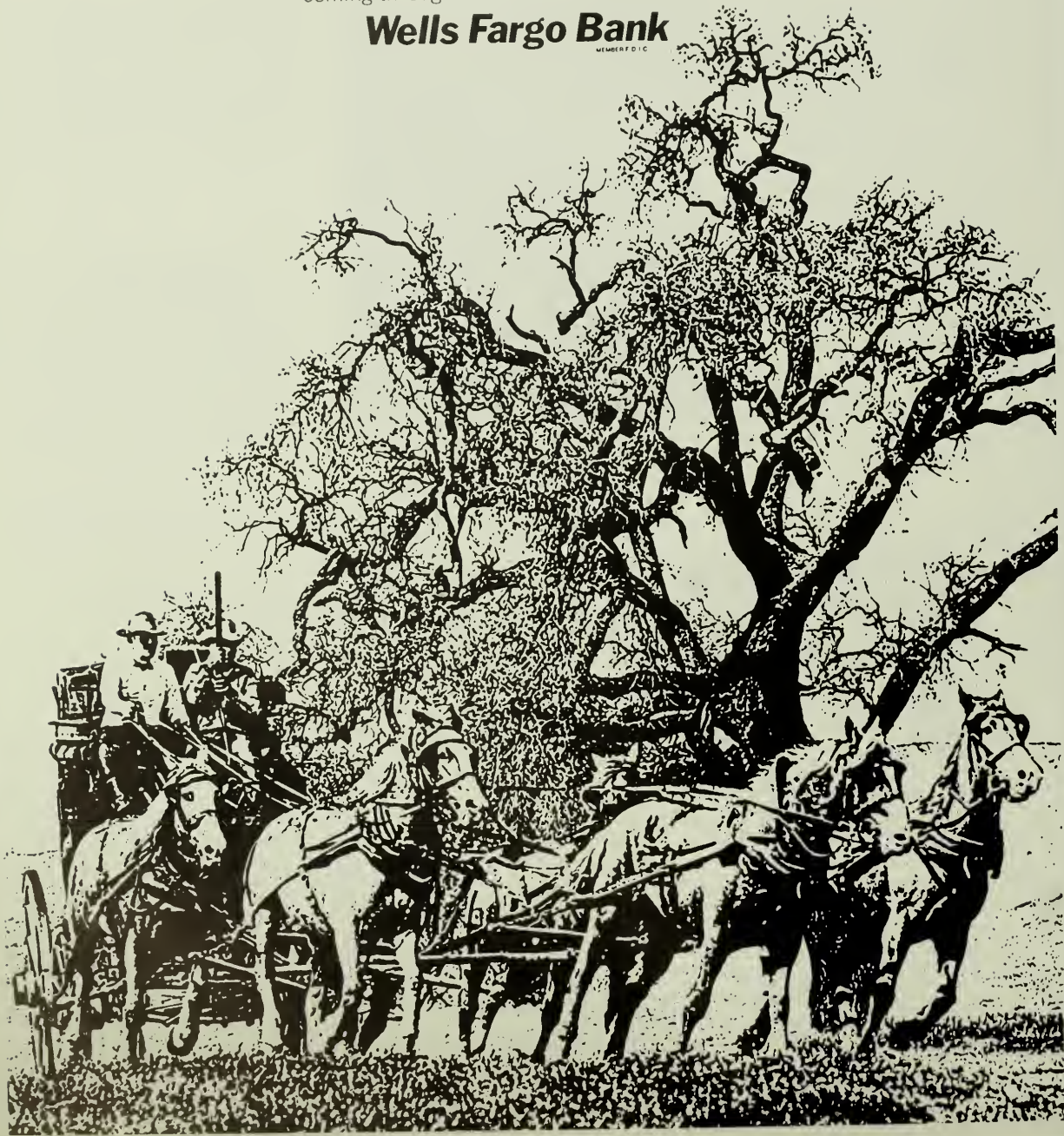
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- Prejudice Goes to Court



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California Snapshots



Above: From San Francisco to New York in 75 days. . . . Adventuring motorists Eugene Hammond and Lester Whitman piloted their one-cylinder, five-horsepower, curved-dash Oldsmobile Scout from the base of the Cliff House to the Atlantic Ocean. Hammond reportedly took this picture by pulling on a string attached to a tripod-mounted camera.

COVER: Bundled in winter coats and clinging tightly to wide-eyed children, Sunday visitors to San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exhibition admired the exotic building facades and gardens, the showy lighting displays, and the grand courts and intimate walkways that made the 1915 event a fair to remember. California Historical Society, San Francisco.

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RUSTLING ORANGES IN LINDSAY

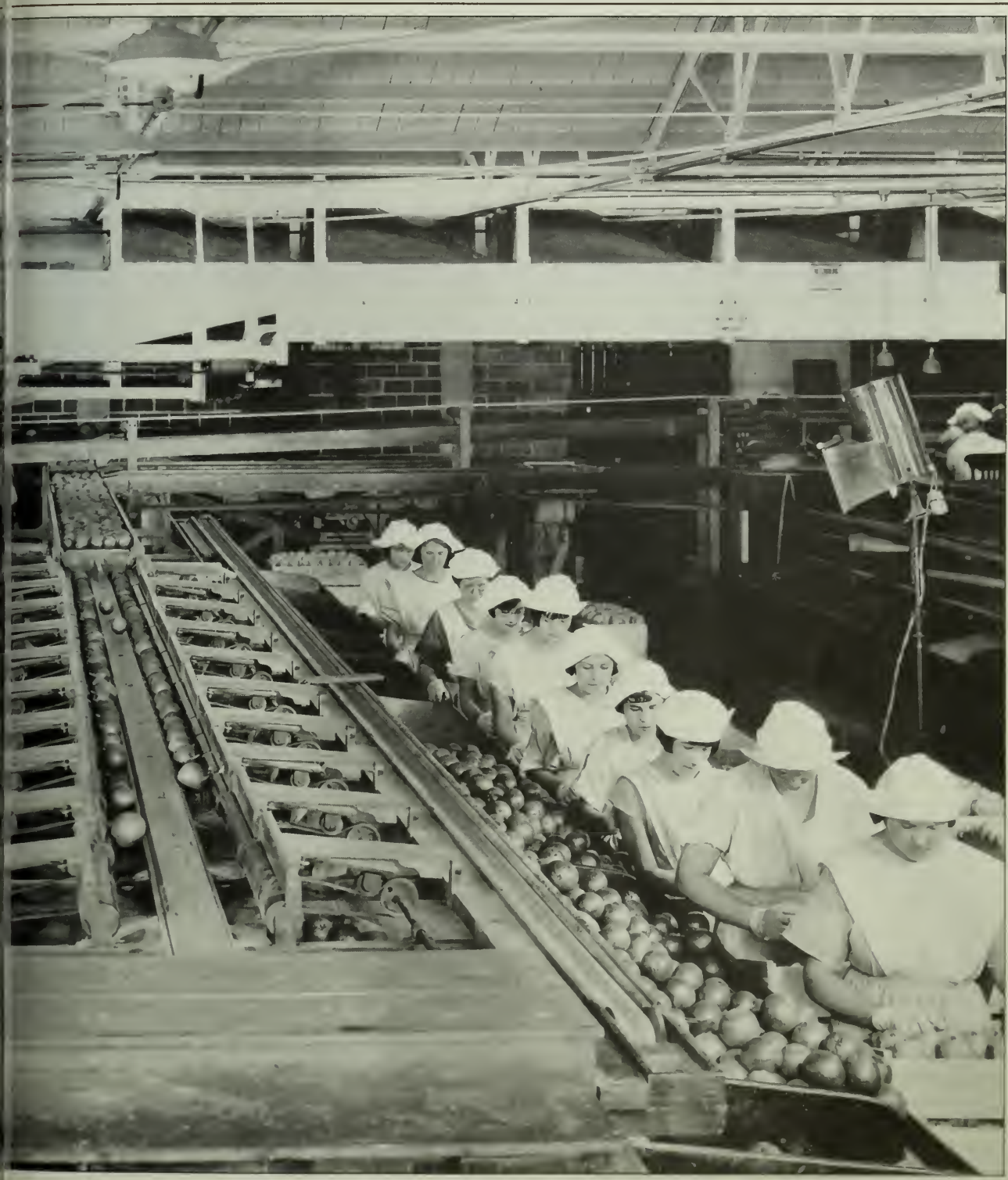
Gregory R. Woirol

Early in the morning of May 22, 1914, Frederick C. Mills, an undercover investigator for the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, walked into the Central Valley town of Lindsay. His visit to the small agricultural community, he later wrote, was the result of "press dispatches a few days previous [which] had announced that there was an immediate demand for hundreds of workers for the harvesting and packing of the Valencia orange crop in the Tulare district." Disguised as an itinerant laborer, Mills worked for the next five days as a "rustler" or crate handler in a Lindsay orange packing house. In the evenings, Mills kept a journal in which he recorded his observations about the living and working experiences of the people he met. When he finished his investigation, he submitted two reports to the Immigration Commission on the orange industry and, in addition, wrote several other fragments reflecting upon his experiences. Together, Mills' writings give a rare look at conditions inside California's fruit packing industry before World War I.¹

The two reports Mills submitted to the Immigration Commission contain interesting analyses of the economic forces and structures of the orange industry, but like all official reports, their formality dulls the sharpness of the images being described. Mills' journal and jottings, on the other hand, capture a picture of life in the orange industry that retains its

The author is Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics at Whittier College, Whittier, California. He holds a doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley.





In a packing shed of the 1920s, uniformed and gloved women packers still individually wrapped oranges, 70 pounds to the crate. CHS, San Francisco



impact seventy years later, despite Mills' occasional moralism and outmoded use of physical and ethnic stereotypes. As a youthful, college-educated government employee, Mills was not part of the world he observed, but by being sensitive to conditions around him, he ably recorded feelings and incidents that illuminate the lives of California's seasonal workers.

Mills' journey was part of a program begun in early 1914 by the Commission of Immigration and Housing to collect information on seasonal and itinerant workers in California. Governor Hiram Johnson had proposed the formation of the Immigration Commission in August 1912 in order to investigate immigration problems that might be presented with the opening of the Panama Canal, scheduled for 1915. By the time of its formal organization in September 1913, however, the commission's mandate was significantly expanded to cover all aspects of the migrant and itinerant workforce.²

The major impetus in redirecting the Immigration Commission's focus was the August 1913 Wheatland hopfields riot in which several migrant workers and law enforcement officials were killed and many people

injured. The incident occurred when field workers who were lured to a Yuba County hops ranch by the prospect of jobs protested the employers' abominable living and working conditions. When the Wheatland riot received national publicity, the executive secretary of the Immigration Commission, Carleton H. Parker, was assigned the task of writing a report on the Wheatland incident.

In order to collect information needed to formulate a course of action Parker instigated a series of investigations of conditions affecting itinerant workers. As a result of these efforts, thirty-five studies were submitted to the commission. Five were written by Frederick Mills.³

A 1914 graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, Mills had been Parker's student in the economics department. Hired by Parker in May 1914, Mills' first assignment was to "hobo" around the Central Valley, observing and reporting on the lives and working conditions of itinerant and seasonal laborers. After this episode, Mills entered graduate school in economics at U.C. Berkeley and at Columbia University where he became a professor. Success-

ful in his career, Mills was later elected president of the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association, and one of his books, *The Behavior of Prices* (1927), was selected by the Social Science Research Council in 1937 as an outstanding contribution in the social sciences since World War I. Mills' early work with the Immigration Commission reflected the abilities that marked his later career.³

The first part of Mills' 1914 "hobo" journey was his trip to Lindsay. Mills selected Lindsay because newspaper reports indicated that jobs would be plentiful there. When Mills reached Lindsay, however, "in place of the expected dearth of men described by the dispatches which had gone out over all the state, I found idle men on every street corner, and groups of a dozen or more along the tracks near the station. Except for one packing house which had a sign up stating that packers (skilled workers) were wanted, there was absolutely no sign of a shortage of help." According to Mills,

The only possible explanation for the story that 500 more men were needed is that certain of the growers and packers were desirous of having on hand during the week or so of highest prices a supply of men ample for the picking and packing. If several hundred extra came in incidentally, why, the town police would have a trifle more work. In this case the expected rush due to the possibility of getting especially high prices did not materialize, and men had been brought to town to lie idle around the tracks.⁴

This method of attracting itinerant labor by newspaper announcement was common in Mills' day. As Carleton Parker noted in his report, the Wheatland riot of 1913 was due in large part to misleading advertising that attracted far more workers to the Durst hop ranch than could possibly be given jobs.

Mills, however, was fortunate. Soon after he ar-

rived in Lindsay, "I was addressed by a young fellow who had just given up his job of 'rustler' with the Drake Citrus Association, and was told that I might be able to get on there. Fortunately the vacancy was still open, and I was hired at 25 cents an hour."⁵

Mills' journal entries for the next few days suggest the nature of the work in Drake's packing house:

May 22, 1914

Packing house clean, well ventilated; 2 toilets for men, probably same for women. Hours, 7 to 6; often 7 to 9 in the evening as well; work Sundays also in rush time.

Women paid four and one half cents a box; It takes from 9 to 21 minutes to pack a box, depending on size of oranges and skill of packer. Work ten to twelve hours a day, six or seven days a week. Two crops, November Navels, May Valencias. Crops here later than in South, so migratory orange pickers and packers can follow crop most of year. About 50 workers at most in Drake's packing house. Probably 7 or 8 other such houses in town. Pressure for help not so great now but packers still wanted. Sign in front of one house.

1500 to 1600 boxes put out a day. Weight of box 70 pounds; work rather hard. After carrying 700 boxes, each 70 pounds (49,000 lbs), one gets the proletarian's point of view with a vengeance.⁶

May 24, 1914

The process of grading and packing oranges is simple but interesting. The boxes are brought in directly from the field and trucked to the "dumper." Here they are dumped on a moving spillway, and lifted by a simple contrivance to another moving spillway which carries them past four "separators." These separate the fruit into two grades, leaving one grade on the spillway and throwing the other on a second spillway. The spillways then

carry the fruit into two graders, at each of which about a dozen packers work. The graders separate the fruit mechanically according to its size. A certain number of oranges of each size go into a box, the number varying from 324 for the smallest to 96 for the large oranges. Each size must be packed differently into the box, there being some ten different packing systems.⁷

Describing the people working inside Drake's, Mills wrote:

May 22, 1914

There are about 24 packers, women and girls. About one-half of them are local people, farmers' wives and daughters, country type. Rest come up from the South for the orange crop. Type prevailingly American. A few dark Southern Europeans, but of the Americanized type; all literate. Men American type; some local, some travel with crop. When owners here want this type they send south for them. Moral tone apparently healthy.⁸

May 22, 1914

Most of packers girls and young women. A few elderly married women, some of younger ones married. Country nasal twang to speech of some; give vent to a wild cry like that of an animal in pain when their box is full. Later I found this cry to be "box." No driving of workers; girls allowed freedom.

People who are not local board at various hotels, lodging houses, etc. Board \$6 to \$8 a week. Conditions at these hotels good. Many men eat their food out at several restaurants in town.

These workers independent; most of them skilled in their lines, so cannot be imposed on. They are the better class of migratory worker. Most of them pleasant and affable.⁹

May 24, 1914

The packers vary greatly in skill, some putting the tissue paper cover on with a hardly perceptible motion as the orange is put into the box. (See report on oranges for earnings, hours, etc.)

The women work steadily through-out the day, but as the work is all piece work there is no strict supervision except as to the quality of the work. Only rarely is a box sent back to be repacked, as when a packer employs the wrong combination for a certain sized fruit.

The morning drags slowly by. The boxes which weighed 70 pounds at 7 o'clock seem to weigh 100 pounds at 10 o'clock. The work goes steadily along with no breaks—only the dull, deadly drag—box after box for the rustlers and boxers, an ever-filling bin for the packers. Now and then a discussion will take place among the packers as to which size of fruit a certain one is entitled to. (Much faster time is of course possible with the large fruit.)¹⁰

Although working conditions appeared reasonable, Mills quickly began to appreciate the hardship of physical work. On Sunday, he wrote:

May 24, 1914

Have half a day of no work so can catch up with my records. What a relief to sit down and write.

Friday night I was about as tired as one could be. For several months I had done no physical work to speak of and worked my mind overtime, what with closing [exams], etc. Friday I had arisen at 5:15 after sleeping some six hours by the road. Walked seven and one half miles along a R.R. track before breakfast. Started work as a "rustler" at 8:30; "Rustling" is admittedly the hardest job in a



packing house. This place—Drakes—has been unable to keep any “rustler” more than 3-4 days. There are 2 rustlers here, each attending to about a dozen packers; When a packer wishes a box, she yells sharply, “box.” The rustler punches her card and carries the box to a bench from ten to twenty yards away, where a top is put on it.

Each box weighs 70 lbs. From 500 to 700 are carried in a day. I worked at this till 9 p.m. Friday night with two hours off for meals. By the time I finished, my feet were blistered, my hands were torn, my arms almost numb, my back aching, and each of my thighs with a red hot sear across it where the edges of the box rubbed. I no longer wonder why there are so many I.W.W.s. Why are there not more anarchists?¹¹

Mills’ reference to the I.W.W., or the Industrial Workers of the World, was no chance remark. The I.W.W. was near its peak of influence in California in 1914, and everyone Mills talked with on his hobo journey had an opinion about the organization. One of the purposes of Mills’ trip, in fact, was to assess the

impact of the I.W.W. on seasonal and itinerant laborers. Among the orange workers Mills found little such influence. As he wrote in one of his reports to the Immigration Commission: “There is no form of union among these orange workers and practically none of them, so far as I could learn, have I.W.W. or Socialistic affiliations or tendencies. They do not appear to be of a type readily susceptible to unrest agitation, while the nature of their work and the organization of the industry itself make unionism of any kind extremely difficult.” Mills also attributed their lack of interest to the fact that much of orange packing was skilled rather than unskilled work (about 50 percent, according to Mills) and that many workers had a stable family life which kept them occupied.¹²

Although Mills’ first written reference to the I.W.W. was somewhat facetious, as he continued to work, his opinions began to change. Commenting on the effect of the long working day he wrote:

May 25, 1914

Yesterday—Tuesday—the other rustler quit—



claiming that the work was too hard. After using several of his regular force, he put on the job a hardy looking youth who had been handling lumber all winter.

I was put on the grader on which all the southern packers work, and they kept me on the jump all day. They work just about twice as fast as the local packers on the other grader. I was carrying boxes steadily all day long, being deprived of the brief resting periods I had had on the other job. Constantly, unremittingly, the cry of "box," enunciated shrilly, harshly, irritably, mandatorily, pleadingly, angrily, nasally, and in various combinations of these tones, would ring out in twenty different sharps and flats. Every time I thought I had a moment to rest, to relax the tortured tendons and muscles in my arms and back, the shrill cry of "box" would come from three or four different sections. How I cursed that sound before the day closed. "The damned," me thought, "use that word in Hell." Or more probably it is the little devils who do the damning who use it.¹³

May 24, 1914

Lunch revives one wonderfully, and we come back at one o'clock ready for another spell of work. I am beginning to get hardened to the job now and am learning something of the art of handling a box with the least amount of effort. The women stand the work and the long hours well except some of the girls who visibly pale and wilt as the long afternoon drags on. Tho their work is not heavy, they are compelled to stand on their feet for from ten to twelve hours a day, and it cannot but do them harm.

Does the organization of modern industry demand the development of a class of female workers who are worn out, ready for the scrap heap at thirty?¹⁴

Some of Mills' observations inside Drake's packing house included conversations and incidents that convey the humor and character of the people who

stood alongside the graders and rustled 70 pound boxes of oranges:

May 24, 1914

The conversation among the packers is often interesting—tho usually made up only of female gossip in the packing house. One says to another, “Do you belong to a church?” “No, don’t you like it?” is the answer. “I just wondered,” says the first. “Well, one doesn’t have to be a Christian to belong to a church,” says the second, to justify herself. How much truth was in that inverted remark.

Or perhaps a box is to be sent back to be re-packed. “Here,” says the boss, “Take this back to _____ and if she doesn’t like it tell her to go to Hell.” The American boss is above all things a gentleman.¹⁵

May 25, 1914

Several of the men working in the place are exceptionally interesting as types. One in particular—a man of about 45—who grades fruit and does other odd jobs, getting probably not over 25 cents or 30 cents an hour, attracted my attention. Over six feet tall, with a splendid frame, he has a face marked by strong and forceful lines. A good forehead, a strong chin, “an eye like Mars, to threaten and command,” with an iron grey mustache and dark grey hair, one would pick him out as a leader of men. I searched in vain for a trace of weakness to explain his present [employment] position. I could only find something approaching it in the almost servile way, like a dog fawning his master, in which he addressed the boss. It was the tone in which he said “Harry” to him, with a peculiar little servile twist, that gave the lie to all the promise of his form and features.

There was another man, a grader, with drawling speech, and dark drooping mustache who some-

how made me think of Bret Harte and Mark Twain, and of faro and poker and all that goes with early California. A dry quizzical humor fitted well his drawling speech. Once when the grader was blocked and had to be stopped immediately, I shouted to him to shut off the flow of oranges. He did so and then he drawled out slowly, “By God, a man has to have on a uniform around here to give orders like that.” The laugh that followed was at my expense.¹⁶

May 24, 1914

The only thing that broke the monotony of the afternoon’s work today was a man’s quitting his job. Some “culls,” as they are called, that should have been thrown out by the separators were passed thru. Drake saw them and yelled at one of the separators, “What the Hell’s the matter with you? Don’t you know a cull when you see it?” The fellow said nothing for a moment, then picked up an orange and threw it violently down again. “Well, I guess I quit here.” “And a damn good thing,” said the boss, “You don’t know a thing about grading.”

It seems to be a characteristic of the American-type worker to take no “lip” from the boss. He is seldom so tied to a job but that he will throw it up if the boss curses him. The derelict gardener at Fresno, with bleary, beer-soaked eyes, said he would take sass from nobody. My fellow-rustler here advises talking right back to the boss and taking no “guff” from him. The job is not dear to the heart of the transient worker. This independent attitude does not hold true of the Oriental, and to a less extent than among workers of the American type does it hold true of representatives of the “New Immigration.”¹⁷

Mills’ brief experience as an itinerant gave him the

opportunity to observe the life led by many single seasonal workers, if not those that were married. Mills' recounting of his first night's dinner in a work-ingman's lodging house in Lindsay is particularly vivid:

May 24, 1914

"Dad" is quite a unique specimen of the old type innkeeper. The place he flatters (or graces) with the title of "hotel" is a ramshackle, dilapidated old building of two stories. The proprietor's bed room is the sitting room and parlor but is only used as such when the front porch cannot be used. The men gather on this porch and exchange pleasant amenities, couched in the most villifying and uncomplimentary terms, with the passers-by.

Meals here are most interesting. When one enters the dining room he is likely to think he has gone into a fly culture station. Flies of all shapes and sizes buzzing in close harmony in a magnificent chorus containing basses, tenors, altos, sopranos and many others not usually listed. Screens are kept on the windows to keep the flies in.

The food is placed on the table in great dishes from which one helps himself. Meanwhile mine host—small, rather corpulent, red-faced, getting a little old and testy—stands by the table and directs operations, keeping up a flow of conversation. When a guest asks for something, mine host bellows forth in a stentorian and strident tone, "Potatoes, mam," "Butter, mam." The "mam" who attends to these wants is a meek thin little woman, evidently the wife of the host, who hurries back and forth, here and there, trying to supply all that is wanted. If she is a little slow, or too busy to come immediately, mine host picks up the plate, repeats his hoarse call, and thrusts it into her hand. She bears a long-suffering face but says nothing. If there come a time when the meek shall

inherit the earth, a large share of it shall surely accrue to the wife of "Dad," proprietor of Dad's Hotel in Lindsay, Tulare County, California.¹⁸

After dinner at Dad's, Mills had to find a place to spend his first night. Suggesting experiences that many itinerant workers must have shared, he wrote:

I was given a bitter example that night of some of the difficulties the migratory worker has to cope with if he is desirous of remaining in the ranks of respectable citizens. Tired and worn-out after the day's work, I was anxious to get a bed in one of the lodging houses in Lindsay. With my bundle on my back I walked up to the Hinman House, at which, I knew, some of the orange workers boarded. Doubtful eyes looked me over and I was refused a room, or a bed. On trying again at a similar place, I was again refused. I applied finally to "Dad," with whom I had had supper. "Dad" refused me a single room, and a bed with sheets, but showed me a bunk without sheets in a squalid little room already holding one sleeper. A look at the dirty clothes of the bunk convinced me that there were original occupants whose claims to possession were prior to mine.¹⁹

Unwilling to sleep with fleas and bedbugs, Mills searched on for a place to sleep:

May 24, 1914

So I left Dad's place, not without some misgivings for it was now half-past nine and I was dog-tired and weary. At the first corner I was accosted by Macyntire, yclept briefly "Mac," a boarder at Dad's—an apparently rather shiftless local character, strong, hearty, eating a ploughman's meal, but as long as I was there going to work "tomorrow." (O mystic word of the southland, many and faithful be the devotees who worship at thy shrine.)



"Mac" referred me to the livery stable, offering the right to use the magic of his name, which presumably was an open sesame to whatever of good Lindsay boasted. The night was soft and delicate, however, glowing with a myriad mystic twinklings, and I chose to "flop" beneath the stars.

The country around Lindsay is devoted almost exclusively to the orange crop, so there were no hospitable hay cocks inviting me. I spread my blankets in some tall grass by the side of the road, took off my shoes and socks only, and rolled in. As I was dozing off I heard some passing men refer to the "damn hobo" by the roadside, but it disturbed me not. The ground was hard, but to my weary bones and aching muscles a stone bed would have seemed like a downy feather mattress.

The next morning, Saturday, I woke with the sun staring me in the face. Antaeus-like, the contact with old earth had filled me with new life and even the prospect of "rustling" 600 orange boxes was not altogether unpleasant to me. Performing my ablutions at a wayside hydrant I breakfasted sumptuously on "bacon and" at George's Place, a

flaming sign above which announced that the best twenty-five cent meal in town could be secured within. The place was filled with working men in their shirtsleeves, men working in the picking and packing of oranges. The summer season lasts here less than thirty days, during which time Lindsay is a veritable hive of industry. Some of the workers are local people, but many come up from the south for the season—"the Southern Packers."

This work is of necessity seasonal, like that in most of California's industries. The earnings, daily and weekly, during the season are comparatively high, but the periods of affluence are followed in many cases by periods of poverty, which last until the season opens again elsewhere. Few of the workers in this industry are trained in other lines and must depend, during the off-season, on odd jobs for subsistence. Saving of wages appears to be exceptional.

At George's and elsewhere I could not help observing how these men swallow their food. Ten minutes at most is sufficient time for a large meal to be stowed away, root and branch. Little is said



while eating, attention being confined strictly to the business at hand.²⁰

Mills' second day at work, Saturday, was as strenuous as the first, and his second night as a hobo was even more difficult and discouraging:

May 24, 1914

Before we close [the packing shed] I ask Drake for some money due me, as my cash assets amount to about a dollar. Instead of money I am given a meal ticket—"Good for five dollars in meals" at George's Place. I am told to come to work at one o'clock the next day—Sunday.

I am determined that for at least one night I will have a good sleep. So after supper I set out with my blankets on my back to find a hay-stack. But my fond hopes are doomed to be blasted. With blistered feet and aching bones I tramp for a mile and a half out of Lindsay. On the right of me there are oranges, on the left of me oranges, behind me and

in front of me oranges. But nowhere is there hay to be seen. As well might I be seeking the proverbial needle as the haystack itself. I curse volubly mentally and swear that I will find a haystack. It is haying season all along the valley and I know there are bound to be stacks somewhere. But the God of Ironical Disappointments has been withholding the cruellest barb. The sky has been dark all afternoon, but I have feared no rain at this season. But now I feel a drop on my head—I turn my face up to investigate and feel more drops. It rains. With black thoughts, breathing direful imprecations, I turn to retrace the weariest mile and a half on God's earth. I don't know why I turn back as I don't know where to go when I get there. They have refused me a room at two hotels. "Dad's" dirty little bunk is probably still empty of all save its socialistic community of original occupants. How I long for the flesh pots again. Stern, hard and real has life become. I, a petted product of a pampered civilization, feel the stern pressure of reality. Night is coming on in a strange country, and I am refused a place to lay my "weary bones." "Yea, I wept

In this Lindsay packing shed, oranges passed through the mechanical sizer (middle background) and dropped into large boxes. Women packers individually wrapped each orange and rustlers carried away the wooden crates. Harold G. Schutt Collection, Lindsay

when I remembered Zion." My dark musings were made darker as, in following what appeared to be a path across a field, I was peremptorily ordered by a harsh voice to "Get out of that orchard." I did so.

Footsore, weary and disheartened I reached Lindsay—a proletarian in search of a place to lay his head. Remembering "Mac's" advice, I tried the livery stable. Even the magic of that wonderful name failed to touch the heartstrings of the owner. I was refused. I headed then for the railroad track, that lodestone that draws all such "blanket-stiffs" as I. There are a long string of empty box cars, but all of them appear to be locked. The rain is now getting quite heavy and I begin to fear that I am in for a wet and uncomfortable night. But the goddess who watches over homeless vagrants smiled then. I find in the long string a car with an unlocked door. Old it is and dirty, the sides and the floor dust-covered. But the sound of the rain on the roof is good to hear.

Sleeping in a side-door Pullman in a region infested with tramps of varying degrees of viciousness is not an altogether alluring prospect. It is easy to conjure up all sorts of dangers, and bloody tales flock to one's mind. But I decide that these fears are but painted devils after all. Besides, am I not now myself a blood brother of the road? At about twelve o'clock I was awakened by the striking of a match in the car. Two homeless wanderers like myself were looking in out of the rain for a lodging place for the night. I gave them greeting, and they crawled in. They were evidently of the so-called hobo class "blowed in the glass," I judged from their conversation and their language. One had a blanket while the other had none. As the latter, whom the other called "Smoke," prepared to "flop," rolled up in some old clothes he had, he remarked philosophically, but with depths of bitterness in his tone, "This is a damn hard world—

a damn hard world." For such as you, Smoke, it is a damn hard world. Not for you is it to know the pleasures of tender nursing, of careful upbringing, the joys of a home, of a respected position in the community, the satisfaction of a life work well done. You and your kind are sworn brothers to grim Necessity and stern Reality. The fault? Quien sabe?

Throughout the night Smoke and his partner wheezed away at regular intervals with deep-seated coughs—swearing as they turned over from time to time. In the morning they turned out before I did. Smoke was a rather tall specimen, fairly well built, unshaven and unwashed, with lines not of weakness essentially, but of hardness with something of what is termed "criminality." He looked more like one who took his living from Society than one who trusted to Society's charity for it. As his partner packed in the morning and remarked on Smoke's lack of bedding, the latter said that he would "swipe" some soon. The partner looked to be of the other type, one who was an outcast thru weakness. Rather talkative he was, not, like Smoke, grimly silent except when it was necessary to say something. They left in opposite directions, agreeing to meet at the depot.

I wrote on some old boxes from 8 till 12. Squandered thirty-five cents (off my meal ticket) on "chicken pot pie" for lunch. Unlike the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither holy nor Roman, nor an Empire, this concoction had at least seen the inside of a pot.²¹

Reflecting later on his night with "Smoke" and his partner, Mills commented, "I wish some of the complacent philosophers who believe in the justice and righteousness of 'Things as They Are' could feel even for a few days the sufferings some of these people live thru."²² Gone is the facetious tone that marked some

In this carefully posed photograph in a Los Angeles fruit shed, the job classifications of the fruit packing industry are evident: packers, rustlers, craters, and male and female foreworkers. CHS, San Francisco

of Mills' earlier observations.

Sunday night and Monday night were easier for Mills, because he was learning how to live on the road. No longer trying for respectable accommodations in a hotel or lodging house, he instead adopted the reasonable expedient of taking whatever was available close at hand:

May 25, 1914

Last night was Sunday night, but being neither in the clothes nor the mood to go to church I did the next best thing. "Cleanliness," saith the Good Book or some other book, "is next to Godliness." Godliness as far as I was concerned was impossible, so I betook myself to a wayside hydrant near town and performed such ablutions as were possible. Also rinsed out some of my dirty clothes. Felt like a fighting cock after getting some of the dirt off me.

The night looked rather cloudy and after my experience of the previous night I sought a sheltered spot on the first throw. A long platform of Drake's packing house protected by an overhanging platform looked invitingly dry, tho hard. I slept fairly well, outside of the fact that I was punching orange-packers' cards all night. Got up at 5:30 and went to work at 6:30.²³

May 27, 1914

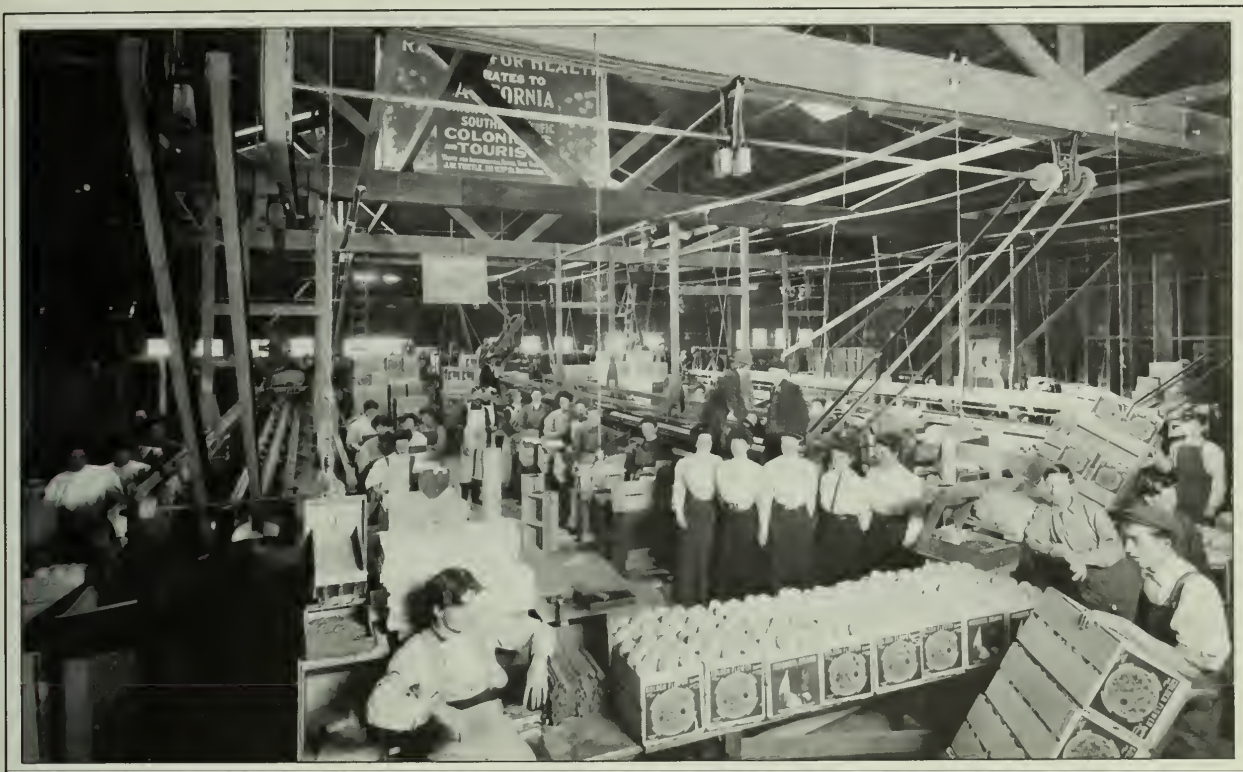
Monday night I had the first comfortable bed I had had since I started. We worked till nine o'clock, and after we had closed the boss heard me getting my roll of blankets from where I had tied them on the outside landing. "Where do you sleep, lad?" he said, when he saw who it was. He then told me I might sleep in the packing house that night, and suggested my using bundles of tissue wrapping paper as bed. I took advantage of the opportunity to reach water by taking a bath at a running faucet

in the packing house. I took my outer clothing off for the first time in five days and lay down in Elysium on a paper bed. After twelve and one-half hours of hard physical work, I slept like a top.²⁴

After Tuesday's work, Mills judged it was time to move on. In an extended section in his journal he reflected upon his five days as a rustler and upon the effect of orange packing work on the men and women he met:

Life for these people, at least during the working season is hard. The easiest job in a packing house running from ten to twelve hours a day for six or seven days a week is enough to tax any man's endurance. Tho there is no strict discipline over the women who are allowed to work pretty much when they care to, the fact that they all do piece work serves as a more stringent driving force than the rule of the strictest overseer. For 10 to 12 hours a day their flying hands repeat a monotonously mechanical movement. By closing time the girls are pale and worn looking, and I heard remarks time and again during the afternoon as to how tired they felt. Some of them are keeping house at the same time, so that after working at this terrific pace all day they must cook their own meals and presumably attend to the rest of their housework.

As to the men it cannot be said that their work is injurious, long tho the hours be. Combined, however, with periods of dissipation and unemployment, it undoubtedly tends toward an early destruction of their productive powers. Seasonal, temporary work of this character has as an inevitable concomitant these unemployed periods which consist, for many of the unmarried laborers, at least, of first a debauch, during which all their money is spent, then a period of tramping, undernourishment and all the accompanying ills until the next spell of work. This is not true of all, but



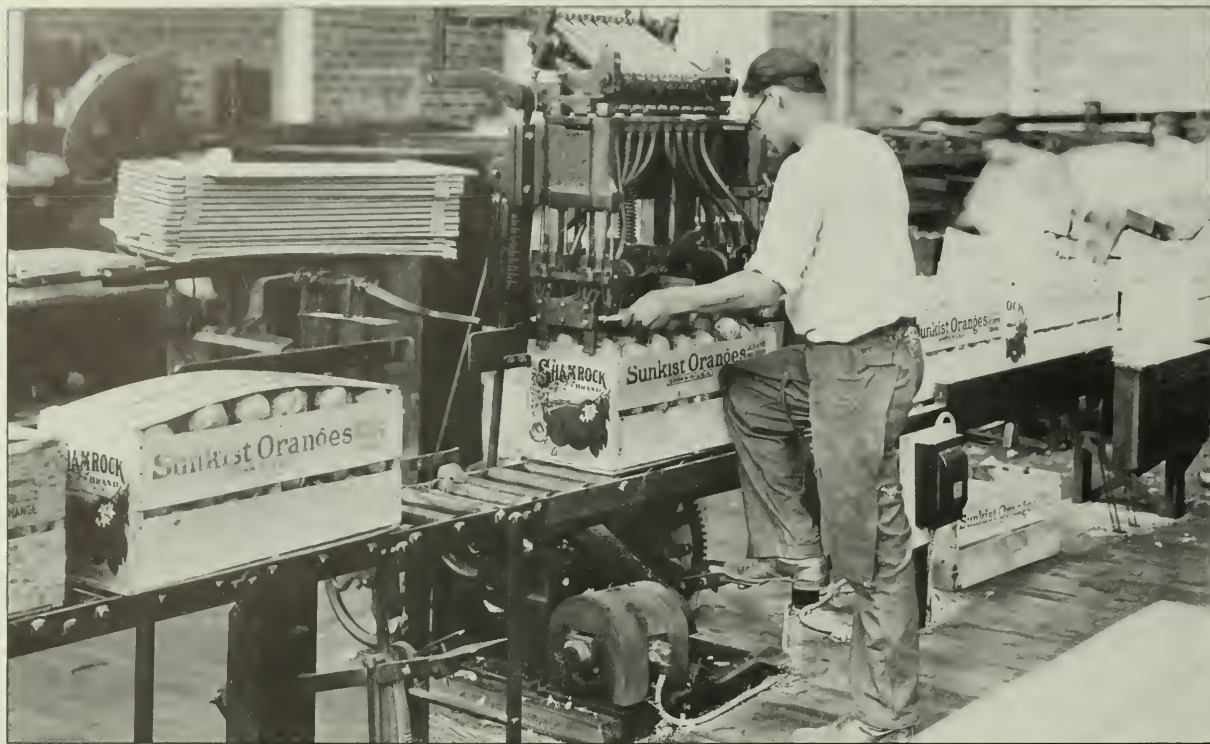
from the conversations I have heard I know that it must be the case with many.

Some of the men are older, married, with families. Their wives often work as packers in the same or similar packing houses. The total family income, then, is made up of this steady amount, secured during perhaps six months, and irregular sums secured intermittently during the rest of year. This means for the entire family a fairly decent living during the working season, with what is likely to be excessive stringency during the rest of the year. Figures as to the number of families who live in this way are impossible to get, but from the number of such cases in this district it is astonishingly large.

This sort of haphazard living, with the lack of conditions of steadiness, of predictability, with no possibility of providing for the future, and with periods of hard living for several months of each year results inevitably in the lowering of the tone not only of the life of the family and the individual, but of the vitality of these economic and social units.

As to the women themselves it is difficult to draw conclusions from my limited observations. For the local people, working two or three months in the year probably does most of them no harm. The working conditions are clean and healthful apart from the long hours and the mechanical rigor of the work.

The independent single woman who follows this for a living, however, working six or seven months of the year at this and similar work is in a precarious or at least undesirable economic situation. It is possible for a skilled worker to earn enough during the complete working season to provide a fair living throughout the year. Whether or not they do so is a question. At best there must be a pressure with a constant temptation during the off seasons to augment their earnings by the same clandestine methods to which many of the shop girls of the cities are forced. The rigorous nature of their work while it lasts cannot but drain their strength unduly, tending to incapacitate them for the functions of motherhood.²⁵



Perhaps the most telling remark that Mills makes about the orange industry occurs not in this commission report but in his journal:

May 27, 1914

The conditions in this industry are perhaps the best that could exist in *any* seasonal industry. A certain number of workers, both men and women, are assured of work for 5 or 6 months of the year. The work is skilled enough to prevent their inundation by the inflow of outside labor. Both men and women are employed, so married life of a certain kind is possible.²⁶

In his report to the Immigration Commission Mills estimated that there were 4,600 people involved in California's orange packing industry during its peak activity. This was only a tiny fraction, however, of the "tens, probably hundreds, of thousands" of seasonal workers in the state. Surveying the seasonal workforce, Mills estimated that 15,000 to 20,000 workers were needed each year between August 15 and December 1 to pick the grape crop, that canneries employed about 15,000 workers for a limited time

period each year, and that the lumber industry utilized over 15,000 seasonal workers.²⁷ "The causes for the existence of such a class," Mills concluded,

are hidden behind a multiplicity of phenomena. They lie deep in human nature, in the 'original nature of man', in our land system, in the seasonality of our industries, in our methods of hiring and firing. They are rooted in our educational system, in the disorganization of our industrial system, in the maladjustments of the labor market. There are those who believe that the roots go deeper, that they strike to the heart of 'capitalistic' organization of industry, that the continuation of such a class cries to heaven against the whole 'money economy' of our age. Out of this latter belief, be it true or false, has grown a social unrest that seethes in varying degrees of intensity on the underside of the crust. There is an active organizing force [the I.W.W.] that is trying to tell this army of its strength, trying to teach it how to get what is considered its share of the goods of this earth. And the message they bring is a message of violence, and, where necessary, bloodshed. 'Direct Action', they call it.

Using a mechanical foot press, this boxer nails the cover to orange crates. His straw hat awaits quitting time, probably some hours away. CHS, San Francisco

This sort of talk is old; we have heard it all before. But what astounds and grips one is the enormous number of men by whom this method is accepted as the one way of escape from a life as deadly and painfully miserable as was that of a bond slave. Intellectuals are preaching it; in city squares the thought is applauded; in hobo 'jungles' it is endorsed. And among us all go on the same 'serenades and suppers and gallantry,' till a weak spot in the crust is found, the unrest comes to a head, flares up into compelling prominence, and a Lawrence, a Ludlow, or a Wheatland is chronicled.²⁸

One of the first observers to make a case study of seasonal and migrant laborers and to document the undercurrent of unrest characteristic of this era, Mills also captures the daily reality of seasonal and itinerant life. He makes it easy to imagine rustling orange boxes in Drake's, sleeping in a boxcar with Smoke and his partner, and eating dinner at Dad's. For this alone, Mills' words are a valuable addition to California's labor history.²⁹

Notes

1. The quote is taken from p. 9 of an untitled fragment labeled "E-6" contained in a collection of Mills' papers in the possession of the Mills family. The titles of Mills' two reports are "The Orange Industry of Central California" and "A Supplementary Report Concerning Orange Picking Conditions." Mills' journal or "Record" and copies of both reports are included in the Mills papers.
2. Letter from Hiram Johnson to Simon Lubin, president of the Immigration Commission, August 20, 1912, in the Lubin Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The organization, development and activities of the commission are reviewed most completely in Samuel Edgeton Wood, *The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing: A Study of Administrative Organization and the Growth of Function*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1942. The Wheatland riot report was officially released with majority and minority reports of Immigration Commission members on June 1, 1914.
3. The thirty-five reports submitted to the commission are discussed by Wood, *California State Commission*, p. 143. In addition to the orange industry studies, Mills wrote "Scenes and Incidents 'On the Road,'" "An Economic Survey of a Sierra Lumber Camp," and "The Sand Creek Road Situation." Copies of these reports and background information on Mills' life are included in Mills' papers. For additional information, also see the entry under his name in *Current Biography*, 1948, p. 453-454.
4. Quotations taken from fragment E-6 in Mills' papers, pp. 10 and 11.
5. Fragment "E-6," p. 11. Investigations in other parts of the country at this time by agents of the U.S. Industrial Relations Commission discovered the same methods of hiring itinerants. See William M. Duffus, *Labor Market Conditions in the Harvest Fields of the Middle West*, a report submitted to the Industrial Relations Commission, December 1, 1914, or Peter A. Speck, *Report on the Preliminary Investigation of the Harvest Hand Situation in the States of Kansas and Missouri*, July 30, 1914.
6. "Record," p. 2.
7. "Record," p. 4.
8. "Record," p. 1.
9. "Record," p. 2.
10. "Record," p. 4.
11. "Record," p. 2-3.
12. "The Orange Industry of Central California," p. 4, 9.
13. "Record," p. 7.
14. "Record," p. 4-5.
15. "Record," p. 4.
16. "Record," p. 7.
17. "Record," p. 6.
18. "Record," p. 3.
19. "E-6," p. 13.
20. "Record," p. 3-4.
21. "Record," p. 5-6.
22. "E-6," p. 17.
23. "Record," p. 6.
24. "Record," p. 7.
25. "Record," p. 7-8.
26. "Record," p. 9.
27. "The Orange Industry," p. 2; "E-6," p. 2, 5.
28. "E-6," p. 3-4.
29. The dramatic labor events of Mills' time are reviewed in Graham Adams, Jr., *Age of Industrial Violence, 1910-1915*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966). For studies of transient life, see Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923); Roger A. Bruns, *Knights of the Road: A Hobo History* (New York: Methuen, 1980); or Kenneth Allsop, *Hard Travellin': The Hobo and His History* (New York: New American Library, 1967).

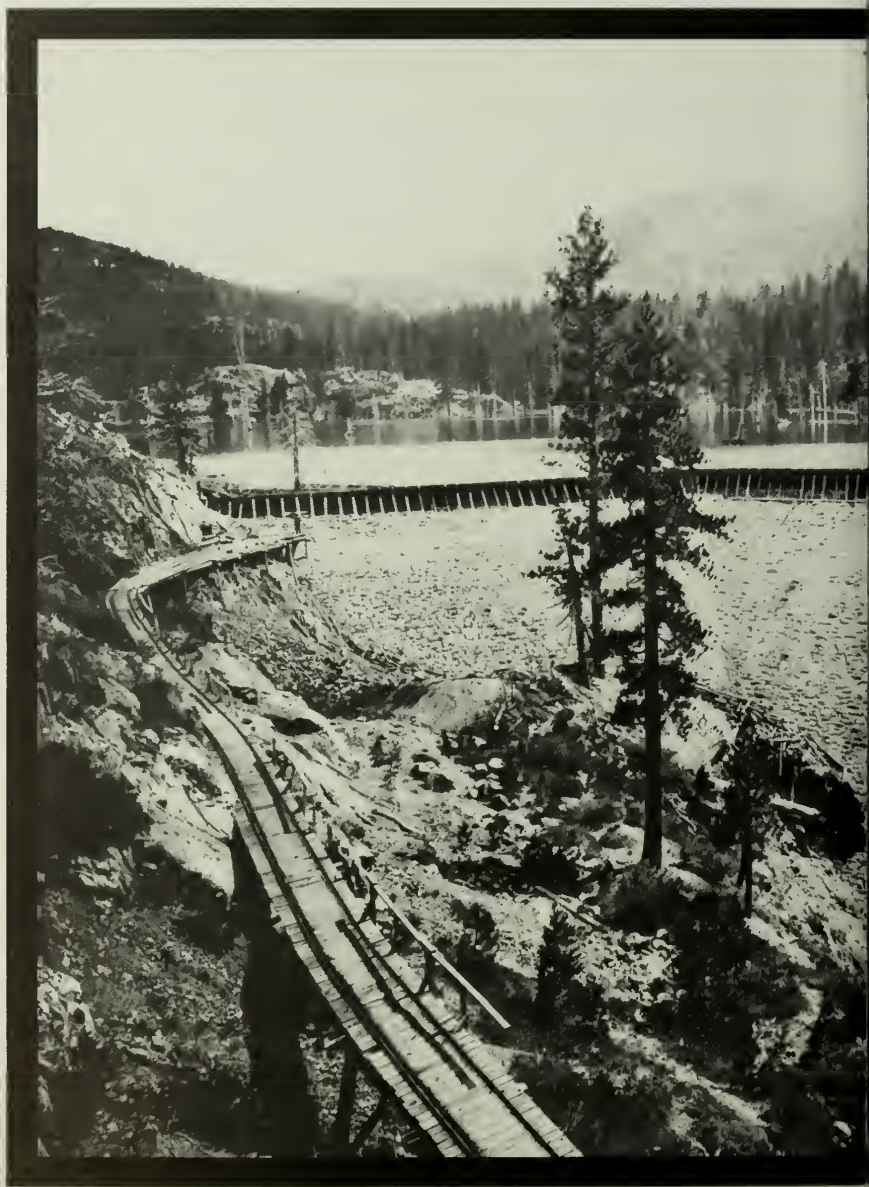
SABOTAGE ON

Marilyn Ziebarth

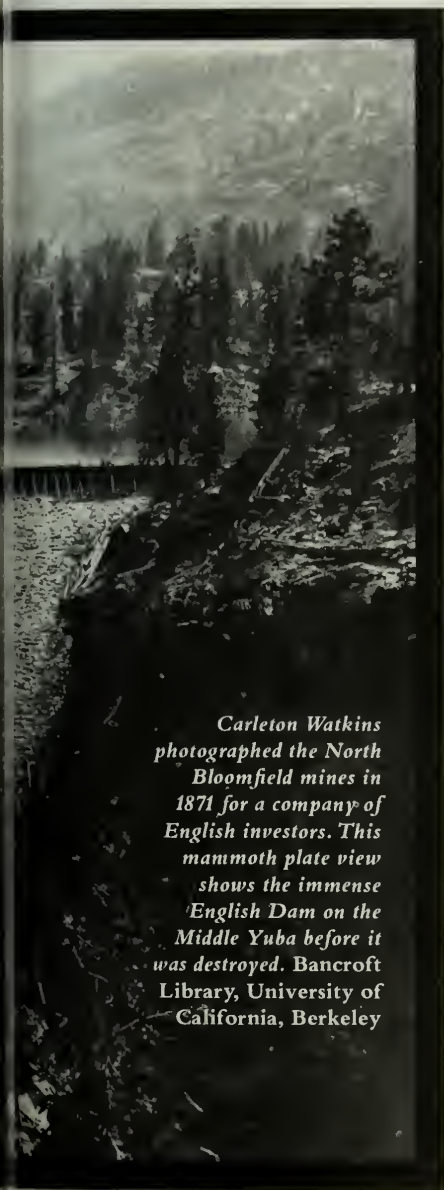
On June 18, 1883, the great English Dam mysteriously collapsed, sending a 15,000-acre-foot wall of water rushing down the Middle Fork of the Yuba River from Jackson Meadows to Linda Township east of Marysville. Found to be sturdy by an inspector only three days before the disaster, the 400-foot long crib dam of logs and rocks gave way in the presence of watchman George Davis who was making his 5 a.m. rounds. According to Davis, the dam break "started by carrying off the wooden upper portion, and then gradually crumbled down the rest, stones and all, till nothing was left. The water was an hour and a half running out, and the mammoth sink was left dry."

In the flood which followed, at least seven people drowned despite the efforts of Ditch Superintendent N.C. Miller to alert communities downstream about the disaster. (Miller made his calls on the Ridge Telephone Line, said to be the oldest long distance line in the United States.) Damage to property below the dam, half a mile upstream from the present Jackson Meadow Reservoir, was also severe.

Built in the 1850s, English Dam, with its adjacent saddle dams, formed a two-and-a-half mile long reservoir feeding some eighty miles of canals leading to nearby hydraulic mines. When the dam suddenly gave way, it



U R Y A G O THE YUBA RIVER



Carleton Watkins photographed the North Bloomfield mines in 1871 for a company of English investors. This mammoth plate view shows the immense English Dam on the Middle Yuba before it was destroyed. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

released 15,000-acre feet of water in "a solid wave or wall, bearing on its crest a compact mass of logs and driftwood forming a floating bridge which seemed solid enough to enable a man to cross on it." First sweeping off a house and barn at Jackson Ranch, the wave then carried away the Eureka Lake Company dam and flumes above Foote's Crossing and washed out twelve cabins belonging to Chinese miners just below Sweetland, as well as \$5000 worth of gold amalgam which eventually "enrich[ed] the grain fields above Marysville."

Farther downstream the water took out the covered bridge at Freeman's Crossing just after the Downieville Stage to Nevada City had passed, carried away the covered bridge at Oregon Creek (oxen later hauled it back into place), swept off forty cattle at Smartville, and finally broke through a levee in Linda Township and dispersed over 2,200 acres, thereby saving Marysville from damage. Property damage from the break was estimated at \$40,000 to \$50,000 in addition to the dam, valued by its owners at \$150,000.

How Did It Happen?

Several days after the event, Superintendent H.C. Perkins of the Bloomfield and Milton Mining and Water companies publicly charged, "The break was not accidental . . . the dam was blown up by powder." Although the companies presented no evidence for this claim, Perkins backed up his words with a \$5000 reward for infor-

mation leading to the apprehension of parties involved. No criminals were ever brought to trial, however, and the cause of this flood in a rainless month remains an official mystery.

Watchman George Davis's death from a fall off a flume shortly after the event further raised suspicions, however, that the dam had been destroyed by Sacramento Valley farmers who objected to hydraulic mining activities. (Hydraulic mining dumped immense quantities of rock, gravel, silt, logs, and brush into river water needed for farming.) In fact, three other Sierra dams had already been attacked: Brush Dam on the Yuba had been burned, and Birdsall Dam on Bear River and Alta Dam on Cedar Creek had been blown up with dynamite.

While mining officials predicted more sabotaged dams would follow, the English Dam break proved to be the last. Seven months later in January 1884, U.S. Circuit Court Judge Lorenzo Sawyer ruled in a historic case involving the Malakoff Diggings that hydraulic mining debris could not be dumped into rivers. This decision on what was probably California's first environmental suit effectively stopped hydraulic mining in the Sierra and with it the need for immense reservoirs of water to wash away the hillsides.

For a detailed account of the English Dam break, see the investigation by Doris Foley and S. Griswold Morley in the September 1949 *California Historical Society Quarterly*. An anniversary article appeared in the Grass Valley-Nevada City *Union*, June 18, 1983.

MALACHI FALLON

Kevin J. Mullen

When the steamship *California* landed at San Francisco in the flush of the Gold Rush year of 1849, it brought the first wave of a flood of argonauts from the Atlantic states. As described in the *Annals of San Francisco*, the men were "largely composed of the rowdy and the knavish class," able quickly to leave "the States" for California because they "required no long time to make preparation for the voyage. Their baggage was on their back, and their purse in every honest man's pocket."¹

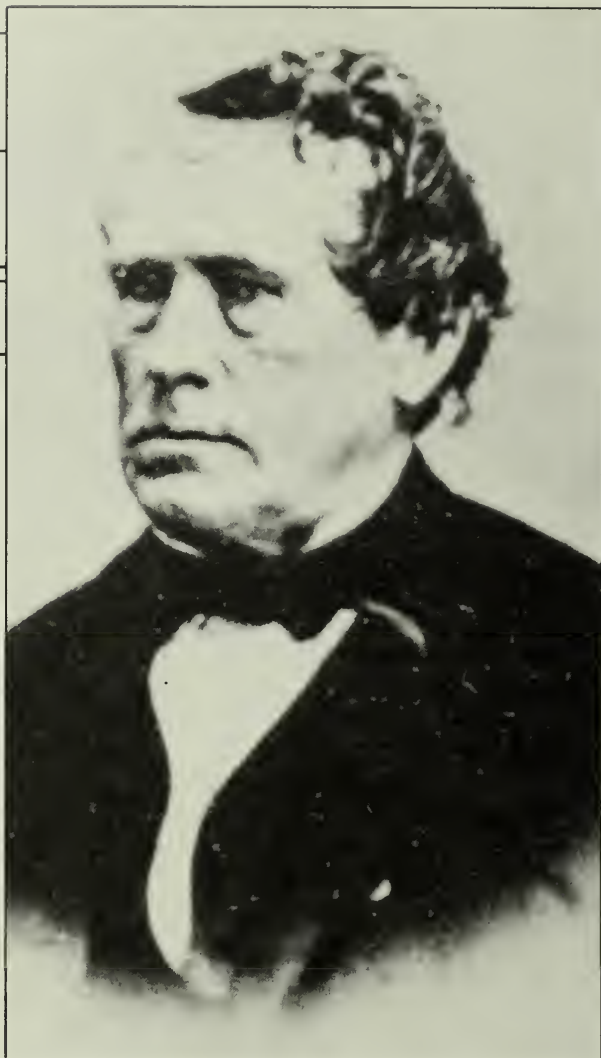
Among the passengers who jammed the decks and cabins of the first Pacific Mail steamer arriving that spring was Malachi Fallon, the man who, as San Francisco's first Chief of Police, would be charged with imposing order on the gold maddened boom town.

Reminiscing much later, Fallon was more generous to his fellow goldseekers:

"San Francisco's population was then made up of rough young men with adventurous spirits, excited by the discovery of gold. They needed a strong and experienced hand to keep them in control. Many of them were of the cowboy class, while the worst were deserting whalemens coming from all parts of the world. They were not men of evil principles but they felt the excitement of the time and enjoyed the lack of restraint in a town where there was no social organization or adequate legal control. Outside of this looseness of moral forces at the time, they were good fellows."²

Clearly there was little law and less order to be found in the town at the time of Fallon's arrival, for news of the gold strike on the American River had

A fourth-generation San Franciscan, the author is a Captain in the San Francisco Police Department with a long-standing interest in the early history of criminal justice in San Francisco.



Malachi Fallon probably sat for this portrait during his brief and troubled tenure as San Francisco's first Chief of Police. CHS, San Francisco

resulted in the prompt abandonment of such rudimentary institutions of government and criminal justice as existed.

As the news of the strike spread, the next to head for California, according to the *Annals*, were "the most daring and clever adventurers of blemished reputation" from Pacific ports and "stray vagabonds" from Australia, "where had been collected the choice of the convicted felons of Great Britain."³ In San Francisco they joined in common purpose with the dregs of the New York regiment of volunteers, sent to California during the Mexican War as soldier-settl-

SAN FRANCISCO'S FIRST CHIEF OF POLICE

ers, and with failed miners who found work in the placers too arduous for their taste.

As shipload after shipload of goldseekers descended on the town and swelled the population, most of the "good" citizens neglected public affairs and scrambled to make a pile; others vied among themselves for control of the town government.

Against this backdrop of public apathy and political confusion, the rowdy elements of the town banded together into a loose-knit criminal alliance called "The Hounds" and filled the governmental vacuum. Encouraged by an opinion voiced by the newly arrived military commander, Persifor Smith, that Latin immigrants were not entitled to mine gold in American territory, the Hounds set about harassing the Hispanic residents of San Francisco. On the pretext of raising revenue to support their self-appointed law enforcement efforts, they brutally extorted money and goods from Latin American immigrants.

Unchallenged by the disorganized citizenry, the Hounds soon extended their exactions to non-Latin merchants, demanding and receiving free food and drink from saloons and restaurants of the town under the guise of payment for police services. On Sunday afternoons, the sole day of rest in Gold Rush San Francisco, the Hounds would parade through the streets of the town to the accompaniment of fife and drum, in drunken and defiant parody of a military parade, while the cowed citizenry averted their eyes.

Then, on July 15, 1849, the "Hounds" went too far. After a drunken Sunday excursion to the *Contra Costa* or eastern shore of San Francisco Bay, they returned to town, where, worked up into a retaliatory frenzy by the recent shooting of an American by a Chilean defending his tent, they raged through "Chiletown" on the slopes of Telegraph Hill for an entire night, tearing down tents, staving in boats, and shooting the inhabitants of the hill.

The next morning, the citizens of the town finally

roused themselves to action. Forming themselves into a volunteer police force, they established the first of the popular tribunals for which Gold Rush San Francisco would become famous, and in the following days, arrested, tried, and convicted the leaders of the Hounds, effectively bringing the group's reign of terror to an end. While the trial of the "Hounds" was proceeding, a group of merchants, which recognized at last that predatory crime will grow in an enforcement vacuum and that something had to be done to insure order, approached thirty-five-year-old Malachi Fallon and asked him to organize a police department in San Francisco.

Born in 1814 in Athlone, Ireland, Malachi Fallon had been taken as a young boy to New York and apprenticed as a saddler. As an adult, he seems to have had some connection with a saloon from which politics was conducted, and he served for a time on the New York Police Department as a keeper at the Tombs Prison. It was to this "former connection with police matters" that Fallon later ascribed his selection by the San Francisco merchants to establish a police department.⁵

On Christmas Eve of 1848, in the great mania that seized the eastern seaboard following President James K. Polk's announcement of the gold strike in California, Fallon took ship from New York on the steamer *Falcon*. He steamed to the Isthmus of Panama and crossed to the Pacific side where he embarked with 350 other hopeful Argonauts on the steamer, *California*. Before the gold excitement had erupted in the East, the *California* had made its way around the Horn with most of its seventy-five passenger berths empty to establish a mail service on the West Coast between Panama and the recently acquired territory of California.

Upon landing in San Francisco in February 1849, Fallon, as did most of the new arrivals, left for the gold regions where he set up a mining partnership in the Jamestown region of Tuolumne County. While on a business trip to San Francisco a few months later, during the trial of the "Hounds," he was asked by a group of merchants to become San Francisco's chief of police.

The political and social confusion which characterized San Francisco in the first months of 1849 was brought to a temporary end by an election. Pro-

Unchallenged by the disorganized citizenry, the hounds soon extended their exactions to non-Latin merchants, demanding and receiving free food and drink from town saloons and restaurants.

claimed by the military governor and held on August 1, the election brought in a new town government headed by Alcalde (Mayor) John Geary and a 12-member ayuntamiento (council). Prompted to action by the affair of the Hounds, the ayuntamiento, composed largely of town merchants, no doubt the same ones who had previously approached Fallon, appointed him the first chief of police on August 13, 1849.⁶ In the following weeks, Fallon in turn appointed an assistant chief, three sergeants, and thirty police officers as the first members of the department. Establishing themselves in a station house at the head of Portsmouth Square, they set about policing the town.

From the beginning of his tenure as chief, and despite the claims of some apologists for events which occurred, Fallon was faced with only a moderate amount of that sort of crime which could be expected

in a gold rush town. On August 20, 1849, he had to arrest a Frenchman, Joseph Daniels, who had murdered his partner for his poke near the road to Mission Dolores. In October, a Chilean stabbed a Black "servant" to death in a drinking tent. In November, the trussed-up body of a John Doe murder victim was found on the beach on the east side of town, and in mid-December Rueben Withers, while attempting to oust sleeping patrons from the rear of the Bella Union saloon, became engaged in a dispute with Arthur "Bones" Reynolds (so-called because of the instrument he played in a Negro band) and stabbed him to death. The month and year ended with the discovery of the body of Thomas Browne, mutilated with twenty-four stab wounds, in the bushes near the road to the mission.

Still, despite the exceedingly heavy rains of the winter of 1849-50 which restricted miners to their tents and the saloons of San Francisco and other settlements, Fallon was relatively unbothered by those predations which would in a short time cause the rise of the Vigilance Committee, eclipse the activities of the Police Department, and end Fallon's brief police career.

In reporting on only three arrests having been made in the preceding three days, the *Alta California* remarked on January 18, 1850, "We believe there is no place in the world with the same amount of population, where crime exists less than in San Francisco at the present time." And as late as November of that year, the paper warmly complimented the police department as "equal to any in the world," saying it would be hard to find a "set of men their superiors as regards gentlemanly conduct and intelligence."⁷

But in the summer of 1850, after the establishment of a chartered city government following an election at which Geary had been chosen mayor and Fallon

chosen city marshal, Fallon's problems began to multiply. The city began to experience a very real increase in predatory crime, as the incidence of murder doubled, and housebreakings and robberies—crimes less tolerated in those times before urban populations had retired behind iron grillwork—increased alarmingly. Gradually, press and public opinion toward the authorities began to harden in the face of a crime wave thought to be the work of Australian ex-convicts unintimidated by the criminal justice apparatus.

Taking their cue from the more sparsely populated mining regions about the territory, where, in the absence of adequate criminal justice facilities, summary justice had been administered to those who preyed on their fellows, and urged on by promptings from the press, private citizens moved to take matters into their own hands. On several occasions, even in instances of relatively minor crimes, groups of citizens tried to take prisoners from Fallon's officers and deal with them summarily. On January 6, 1851, the *Evening Picayune*, while allowing that the police department was too small to be everywhere, reported on the well-known fact that "out of the vicinity of the drinking saloons, a policeman is scarce ever to be found, day or night." Then it blatantly endorsed the idea of volunteer patrols as long as the volunteers were "permitted to take their own way in the treatment of public offenders."

By late February 1851, the people were ready to act on their own. The occasion of the beating and robbery of a popular merchant threw the town into a frenzy for three days. Because of the widespread belief that regular institutions of justice were incompetent to handle the matter, "the people" at a series of angry mass meetings formed a popular court. There followed several abortive rushes to take the two suspects, later shown to be innocent, from Fallon and his officers who had arrested them. But the sentiment favoring a trial, albeit an extra-legal one, prevailed.

Fortunately for the defendants, the jury could not agree on their guilt, and they were eventually released.

Dissatisfaction with crime conditions were quieted for a time but not dispelled. Next the disgruntled citizenry turned to the ballot box. In the municipal election at the end of April, Fallon and his fellow Democrats were turned out of office in a rousing Whig victory. The Whig mayoral candidate bested the Democrat by a margin of 414 of the 6,000 votes cast. Robert G. Crozier, the Whig candidate for city marshal, defeated Fallon by 1,709 votes, receiving 64 percent of the vote to Fallon's 36 percent, a landslide by any definition of the term.⁸

For a time the people and the press believed that conditions would improve with the change of officials. But on the very day the new city government was to be sworn in, San Francisco was devastated by the fifth and greatest of a series of fires thought to be set by arsonists. As luck would have it—bad for the new police—there followed a series of escapes from the station house. For the most part, flimsy construction of the jailhouse was at fault, but it was thought at the time that the breaks were the result of police incompetence or police collusion with the criminals.

Even with Fallon out of office, the press kept up a steady drumfire of criticism of the town authorities, and in early June 1851, when the trial of an Australian arrested for setting fire to his rooming house on Central Wharf (Commercial Street) was postponed on what was considered a trivial technicality, "the people" had had enough. A group of prominent citizens formed themselves into a Committee of Vigilance, vowing in their hastily composed constitution that "no thief, burglar, incendiary assassin shall escape punishment either by the quibbles of the law, the insecurity of prisons, the carelessness or corruption of the police, or a laxity of those who pretend to administer justice."⁹

San Francisco, August 30th, 1849

D. Brothers, Sisters and all hands

This will be handed to you by M. Pendleton, an old friend of mine who returns to New York on business. I did not receive a letter from one of ye all until the steamer of last week. The day before yesterday I got a package of letters that had taken a circuit of the mines, finally reached my Camp and were sent down by my partner.

I am located here now and probably will continue to do so for some time to come. It came to hapin (sic) this wise: I came to San Francisco on business and *while there, there were on Trial some persons for Rioting. The merchants of the town, having heard of my former connection with Police matters, called to see me and offered inducements to me to remain and organize a Police.* [author's emphasis throughout] I could not make any arrangements no matter how profitable it might have been until I had consulted with my partner. I returned home some three hundred miles from here, and my partner believing it would be profitable, I returned. *The council met and appointed me Chief of Police at a salary of six thousand dollars a year, to have the whole control of the appointment of an Asst., three sergeants and 30 men. The organizing Body* has kept me so busy since I arrived here that it must be an excuse for not writing to you all.

I send by Mr. Pendleton some specimens of Gold. There are many prettier but these are my own diggin which I trust will enhance their beauty some. I am sorry they could not be in the shape of Pound lumps at least, but coming without means and commencing by heavy liabilities it tends to keep locked up in Business all that I have made. . . . Business is very dull here. *I am called by the Court and must close.* God Bless ye all is the sincere wish of Brother, Uncle and friend. Tell Andrew to learn as much of Mercantile Business as he can, and I will soon ask his Mother to let him come to me next summer, or I think it likely I will come myself to persuade her.

Adieu,

M. Fallon

Fallon's previously unpublished letter to his family sheds light on how he was selected San Francisco's chief of police. Father John McGloin Collection, University of San Francisco

The committee had hardly organized itself on the evening of June 10 when an Australian thief named Jenkins (or Simpton) was arrested by nearby boatmen while burglarizing a shipping office on Central Wharf. At the suggestion of a member of the newly formed Vigilance Committee, he was turned over to that body rather than to the police. The committee was assembled by the prearranged tolling of fire bells, and in the next few hours Jenkins was tried by the secret tribunal, convicted of burglary, and sentenced to death by hanging. In the early morning hours, he was escorted to Portsmouth Square with a rope around his neck and hanged from a beam of the Custom House. To the general approval of the press and public, in the months which followed, the committee, in secret conclave, conducted a number of hearings. Testimony taken from suspected criminals and others resulted in the execution of three more Australian criminals and the banishment of several more.

In the social turbulence which attended the Vigilante eruption, information was uncovered which supported the belief that some police officers were on the take and that Marshal Fallon had been part of it. Some later chroniclers present in San Francisco at the time of Fallon's tenure in office and the Vigilante uprising would characterize Fallon as "a good officer and an honest man."¹⁰ But other information suggests a different conclusion.

Though Fallon had been out of office for a month by the time the secret tribunal was convened, the Vigilance Committee had occasion to scrutinize and review his conduct in office. In testimony before the committee in July, Thomas Ainsworth (aka Tommy Roundhead), an Australian with an extensive criminal record, charged that Fallon had tried to set him up in business as a burglar, and, when he refused to cooperate, caused his repeated arrest.¹¹ Ainsworth,

notwithstanding any efforts Fallon might have made to turn him to a life of crime, was on a first name basis with other members of the criminal band from Australia, and as the sole witness against Fallon before the committee, Ainsworth's testimony was and is not enough to sustain a charge of corruption against the marshal.

But there was more. Even as San Francisco seethed with Vigilante turmoil, the governor of the state allowed a one-month reprieve to a man in Sacramento who had been sentenced to hang with two others by the regular courts for highway robbery. An enraged mob seized him from the authorities and promptly hanged him. But before he died, with his neck in the noose, he was said to have made "grave charges" against the mayor of Sacramento and Marshal Fallon of San Francisco.¹²

The establishment press, which supported the Vigilance Committee and missed no opportunity to discredit its opponents among officialdom, was quick to discount allegations as sensationalism. With more important fish to fry than an out-of-office marshal, the committee never called Fallon to testify regarding the charges made against him, and the papers of the committee (which contained the charges made against him) were kept solely within the committee for more than twenty years. As a result, Fallon did not have the opportunity to refute the allegations while the events were still fresh.

Historian Mary Williams, whose *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* and *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* are the definitive treatment of the 1851 Committee, includes four San Francisco police officers in a list of criminals implicated by other members of the gang infesting San Francisco in the summer of 1851. Three of the officers are shown as being important members of the gang; Malachi Fallon is the fourth.¹³

In later years when the aging Fallon was interviewed about his early days in law enforcement, he

never hesitated to speak of his work in the Tombs in New York, and he regaled listeners about the rowdy days of Gold Rush San Francisco. However, he avoided discussing any specifics of his term of office in San Francisco and made no mention of any charges of misconduct laid against him decades before. The matter must stand, then, where Mary Williams left it.

After his removal from office in the April election of 1851, Fallon never again worked in law enforcement. He opened a saloon, the Rip Van Winkle, on the corner of Pacific Wharf and Battery Street and later moved to the Knickerbocker House at Central Wharf and Battery. In 1852 he left the city forever and moved to a seventeen-acre parcel he purchased on the Peralta grant on the *Contra Costa*. There he lived near Seventh and Fallon streets in Oakland until his death, full of years, in 1899 at the age of 85. Today, his connection with the criminal justice system of an earlier age is remembered symbolically, at least, by the presence of the Alameda County Courthouse on Fallon Street, just down the road from his residence.

Notes

1. Frank Soule, John Gihon, James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1966), p. 554.
2. Cited in the *Oakland Tribune*, April 2, 1961.
3. *Annals*, 554.
4. Fallon to his family, August 30, 1849 (held by John B. McGloin S.J.).
5. *Ibid.*
6. *A Record of the Proceedings of the Ayuntamiento or Town Council of San Francisco, From August 6, 1849 until May 3, 1850*. Municipal Reports 1849-1860.
7. *Alta California*, November 26, 1850.
8. *Alta California*, May 1, 1851.
9. Mary Floyd Williams, ed., *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (University of California Press [1919]), p. 1.
10. T. A. Barry, and B. A. Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the Spring of 1850* (A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1873), p. 130.
11. Williams, *Papers*, 322, 323.
12. *Alta California*, August 25, 1851.
13. Williams, *Papers*, 828.

SAILING TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE PANAMA



Celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal, as well as San Francisco's miraculous recovery from the Earthquake and Fire of 1906, the Panama Pacific International Exposition opened in February 1915 amid great fanfare and excitement. Before it closed ten short months later, nineteen million of the curious had walked through its courts and palaces by day or by glittering night.

Built on a two-mile-long, half-mile-wide plain at the end of the San Francisco peninsula (today's Marina District), the exposition featured livestock exhibits, state buildings showing off local and regional wares, and foreign pavilions. A large amusement and concession area—tantalizingly named the Zone—proved particularly popular, as did exhibits ranging from a working model of the Panama Canal to a giant pneumatic painting of a nude named Stella.

Gray Brechin's article on the architecture of the exposition suggests the spirit of optimism and naiveté that characterized this remarkable salute to the new century, now sixty-eight years ago. Editor

At one point on the western edge of North America, the long wall of the Coast Range funnels inward to a precipitous cleft. A passenger on a steamship in the summer of 1915 entering The Narrows would have beheld an enchanted spectacle, for ranges of golden hills, like the wings of a vast stageset, opened around the bay and receded into the California hinterland. Just ahead and to starboard, an iridescent walled city rose from the water, an orderly array of domes and minarets backed by a long ridge

BYZANTIUM

PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

The 635-acre walled city on the waterfront stretched from the Palace of Fine Arts (at left) to Machinery Palace (at right) with the 432-foot Tower of Jewels serving as portal to the treasures within. The low profile of Alcatraz Island Immigration Processing Center is visible offshore.

CHS, San Francisco



of closely-packed mansions. Had it been twilight, a colossal tower rising from the center of the city would have been enveloped in an ambient film of light, the ancient walls would have been lambent with color and moving auroras would have filled the sky overhead.

This was what San Francisco wanted to be, but could only sustain for nine months. It was an evocation of a past that never was. It was the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

Writing to a friend in 1915, young Edmund Wilson expressed the enthusiasm that millions of visitors felt for the fantasy city: "I probably shall not be able to convince you of how good the Exposition is. It . . . is architecturally so successful that it at once

raises the question why, if American architects can build temporary buildings as good as this, can't they build permanent ones of the same kind.'" Having noted that "A Western city makes Trenton look like Athens," Wilson went on to predict that "A great lesson should be learned from this Exposition! I look forward to the regeneration of America by means of architecture."

Ostensibly a celebration of the Panama Canal's completion, the Panama Pacific International Exposition was, in reality, a festival of self-congratulation and advertisement for the city that had so rapidly risen from the ashes of 1906. By 1915, few vestiges of the calamity were left, except for the raw newness of the area east of Van Ness Avenue. But regret



attended the celebration as well; San Francisco, it was widely observed, was *not* the same city. "San Francisco," observed a visiting Eastern architect in 1912, "is a better city undoubtedly than it was in 1905, but it is hardly sufficiently better to compensate its citizens and its visitors for what has been lost."² With the self-satisfaction attending a heroic rebuilding came remorse that such a splendid opportunity to realize the 1905 Burnham Plan had been missed. That plan, commissioned of the eminent Chicago architect and planner Daniel Burnham by civic-minded business leaders, envisioned a hilly Paris by the Golden Gate. Its idealistic megalomania and the massive disruption of existing land-use patterns that it would have required insured its doom in the rush to rebuild the city. Certainly by 1909 downtown was more cohesive and cleaner, with the predominantly cream-glazed terra cotta facades that newly lined Grant, Post and Kearny Streets a refreshing antidote to late-Victorian visual chaos. But the great ceremonial gestures—the boulevards, esplanades, park chains, and civic center that Burnham proposed—were missing. "Its citizens like to

talk about it as the Paris of America," noted the same architect. "But French restaurants, electric lights, and a prevailing atmosphere of gaiety do not make a Paris. A metropolitan city must be tied together by a plan which provides for every essential economic and aesthetic need; and San Francisco still remains devoid of such a plan."³

The first plans for the Panama Pacific International Exposition seem an atonement for the haste with which the inner city was rebuilt; they sought to convert the entire city into an exposition with permanent improvements. Concentrated nodes in Golden Gate Park, Lincoln Park and Harbor View, on Telegraph Hill and along the waterfront would have been connected by splendidly lit and planted boulevards, including Market Street and Van Ness Avenue, which would have converged at a new Civic Center. A permanent tower, eight hundred fifty feet high, would have been built on the heights of Lincoln Park to commemorate the "heroic pioneers" and to serve as an immense lighthouse at the Golden Gate.

At the same time, local architect Ernest Coxhead

Golden domes and obelisks pierced the sky in the 1915 make-believe plaster city by the Bay. CHS, San Francisco

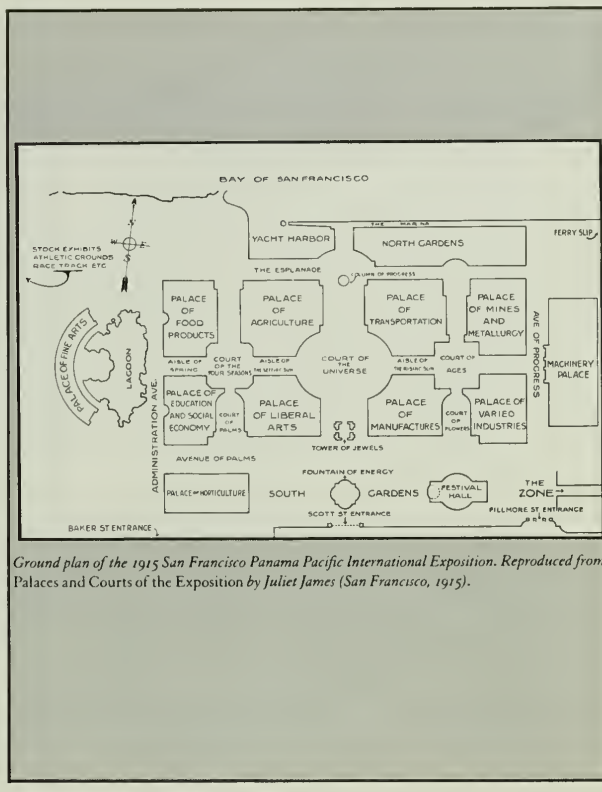
*Eight tall-walled exhibit palaces arranged around inner courts deflected the strong west wind off the water and made walking between buildings easier than at previous world's fairs. Reproduced from *Palaces and Courts of the Exposition* by Juliet James (1915)*

proposed staging the fair along a beautified waterfront. Instead of concocting the usual plaster city, divorced from urban realities, Coxhead's novel proposal would have deliberately exhibited the activities that made San Francisco one of the world's foremost ports, while leaving behind enduring improvements. More candid than most of San Francisco's civic leaders, he stated the underlying purpose of any exposition for the host city: "What we want to do is to interest the world in our resources, we want them to stay here, invest their money here, and help us to develop the untouched, unparalleled resources that lie at our hands. . . ."⁴

Yet another architect suggested that the Mission and French Renaissance styles be rejected for a common Gothic theme, for ". . . the genius of our civilization is emphatically Anglo-Saxon," and "wherever the Anglo-Saxon and Spanish civilizations have come in contact the irrepressible conflict between them has flared forth in war." With a final flourish of Social Darwinism, he exclaimed, "How grandly it would grace this farthest western frontier of the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon, where it faces its anti-type, the oriental!"⁵

Early in 1912, the grandiose plans to hold a multi-nodal, citywide fair were scrapped because of the enormous cost involved. The site was narrowed to 635 acres at Harbor View and in the adjacent Presidio. The State undertook a nine-million-dollar improvement of the waterfront that resulted in the wall of classical and Mission revival bulkheads that stand along the Embarcadero. Under the new mayor, James Rolph, Jr. (also vice-president of the Exposition Company), plans for a new Civic Center were prepared and the Exposition (now Civic) Auditorium rushed to completion, while the competition-winning City Hall was begun.

Site planning for the fair began immediately and quickly resulted in four innovations that distin-



*Ground plan of the 1915 San Francisco Panama Pacific International Exposition. Reproduced from *Palaces and Courts of the Exposition* by Juliet James (San Francisco, 1915).*

guished the Panama Pacific International Exposition from previous expositions and which were symptomatic of a degree of planning coordination rare not only for expositions in general, but for San Francisco in particular.

Ernest Coxhead devised one of the most brilliant layouts ever created for a world's fair. Since the 1893 Chicago exposition, world's fairs had been laid out as typically beaux-arts ensembles of classically-derived buildings in a formal landscape ordered by major and minor axes. Such planning formed the basis of much City Beautiful thought and can best be seen in the San Francisco Civic Center, whose French Renaissance-inspired buildings are arrayed around the central axis of Fulton Street. At the Panama Pacific International Exposition, however, eight major exhibition palaces were tightly arranged around three major inner courts and five minor forecourts. The seventy-foot walls of the buildings thus broke the westerly wind and gave shelter to pe-



Hercules draped in American bunting symbolized San Francisco's determination to rebuild itself after the devastation of 1906.

CHS, San Francisco

A company of spit-and-polish marines executed precise drills in light on a battery of forty-eight searchlights known as the Scintillator. CHS, San Francisco

aspect of an Exposition 'turned inside-out.' So distinct was this appearance, that it inspired one commentator of usually powerful vision to see in it a tendency towards an invasion of fourth-dimensional space."⁶ Outside of this tight core, individual buildings—the Horticulture and Festival Halls and the Palaces of Machinery and Fine Arts—were arranged more conventionally in relation to the major and minor axes of the fair, but their domes related to the domes in the skyline of the inner fair. Beyond this, order fell off considerably; state and national pavilions fanned out west of the Palace of Fine Arts in the Presidio, beyond which was a loose grouping of livestock buildings and racetracks, while the Zone offered its visual chaos of amusements around Fort Mason.

The Panama Pacific International Exposition was thus organized in three roughly concentric bands: a tight inner core of palaces and courts, a secondary band of individual buildings and gardens and a loose outer perimeter of amusements and areal concessions. It is the first two, and the remarkable core in particular, that constituted the "City of Domes" or "Jewel City." Noting that the plan of the buildings should be as agreeable as the buildings themselves, the beaux-arts-trained Bernard Maybeck wrote:

If the plan of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition group of main buildings were reduced in scale to the size of a golden brooch and the courts and buildings were made of Venetian cloisonné jewelry, the brooch thus made would pass as the regular thing in jewelry without causing the suspicion that it represented a plan for a World's Fair.⁷

While previous fairs had used outline lighting with bare bulbs on building exteriors (a technique frequently used for advertising in theatres and commercial structures at the time), the Panama Pacific

destrians. This compact plan, in which space becomes the positive element and buildings simply a neutral infill, greatly lessened the walking distance that had been such a liability of the sprawling St. Louis fair in 1904. Architects were given courts rather than buildings to design: the firm of McKim, Mead and White created the central Court of the Universe, Louis Christian Mullgardt the Court of the Ages, renamed the Court of Abundance, and Henry Bacon the Court of the Seasons. They were thus responsible only for the exteriors of four buildings, while the structures themselves (simply huge industrial sheds) were produced by the exposition engineering department. George Kelham designed the smaller Courts of Flowers and Palms opening off the South Gardens with their flanking Italian Towers, while W. B. Faville was in charge of the outer walls with their embellished portals and half-domes.

The official historian of the fair noted that "adornment commonly associated with interiors of buildings was lavished on the exterior to make these courts, so that it was said that the plan presented the



International Exposition was the first exposition to make general use of indirect lighting and was generally agreed to be loveliest at night. William D'Arcy Ryan, director of the illuminating laboratory of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, New York, supervised all illumination, creating numerous theatrical effects. Tall Venetian masts topped with shields and banners directed light from powerful magnesite arcs at the walls of the palaces, bathing them with a soft, shadowless radiance. Perfect reflections were thus assured in still pools in the courtyards. Searchlights on the roofs of the palaces and the towers raked the sky and spotlighted heroic sculpture on the skyline, casting their silhouettes through the fog. The Scintillator, a battery of forty-eight searchlights off the Marina manned by a company of marines, executed precise drills every night, weaving artificial auroras in the fog or, on clear nights, animating clouds of steam lofted by a stationary locomotive.

Each court had its distinctive nocturnal color scheme: underwater lights in the Court of the Seasons created glowing green pools; the fountains in

the Court of the Universe were a stellar white; while the Court of the Ages featured infernal red. This most theatric of all the courts also featured "altars" decorated with writhing serpents from which rose clouds of red steam. In the Court of the Universe, Adolph A. Weinman's statues of "The Rising Sun" and "The Setting Sun" were mounted on sixty-foot columns of dense glass that glowed soft white at night.

The enormous green glass dome of the Palace of Horticulture became radiant after dark as the light of another battery of searchlights hidden in its tropical shrubbery was projected upward against the underside of the dome through revolving lenses and colored screens, simulating an immense fire opal.

But the most spectacular effects were reserved for the 432-foot Tower of Jewels, the centerpiece and portal of the walled city. Its arch was larger than the Arc de Triomphe and its stepbacked tower, heavy with military trophies and crowned with a great armillary sphere, easily topped the backdrop of Pacific Heights and made it visible throughout the Bay Area. The Tower was hung with over 102,000



“Novagems,” large faceted and colored glass “jewels” backed with mirrors and hung by wires to gyrate and flash with every breeze. Concealed lights and nearby searchlights suffused it with what was described as a “living film of light.” Frank Morton Todd, the official historian of the fair, described the special effect known as “The Burning of the Tower,” which symbolized the burning of San Francisco in 1906:

Concealed ruby lights, and pans of red fire behind the colonnades on the different galleries, seemed to turn the whole gigantic structure into a pyramid of incandescent metal, glowing toward white heat and about to melt. From the great vaulted base to the top of the sphere, it had the unstable effulgence of a charge in a furnace, and yet it did not melt, however much you expected it to, but stood and burned like some sentient thing doomed to eternal torment.⁸

On a somewhat happier note, the Novagem Jewel Company published a doggerel tribute to the wondrous tower:

Oh! Tower of Jewels so wondrously bright
Thy Novagems sparkling by day and by night
Flashing their fame o’er the land and the sea
Jewel City—1915—P.P.I.E.¹⁹

While local color had been used in previous fairs (notably at Buffalo and St. Louis), the dominant impression was of whiteness. “The Great White City” of 1893 at Chicago had, after all, come as a revelation of apparent hygiene and order to Americans of “the Brown Decades” and had wrought a revolution in architectural color. Probably the most remarked feature of the Panama Pacific International Exposition was the wholesale use and coordination of color under the direction of Jules Guerin. At the time, Maxfield Parrish and Guerin were renowned for their romantic watercolors and were considered the foremost color specialists of their age. Guerin was early called upon to coordinate all colors in the fair and worked closely with architects, painters, sculptors, gardeners and lighting experts. Architects’ line drawings to be used as guides for the painting and plastering of the palaces were sent to Guerin, who painted them with his deft, late-Impressionist technique. His thoroughness was remarkable; he worked with John and Donald McLaren to harmonize flowerbeds with ad-

To enhance the exotic Mediterranean aura of the fair, palms were transplanted from gardens in warmer areas of the city.
CHS, San Francisco

On closing night, small airplanes performing loop-the-loops created spirals of light seeming to emanate from the Tower of Jewels, the architectural centerpiece of the fair.
CHS, San Francisco

jacent walls, designed uniforms and banners, and even had the sugary Monterey sand on the footpaths roasted to a rich cinnamon brown.

The color scheme was meant as a joyous celebration of the California landscape. The leonine Coast Range hillsides, tawny with dry grass for much of the year, had first shocked immigrants from wetter climates. "In the early days," noted novelist Mary Austin, "when all the West was full of belt-loosening, breath-casing sound as men accommodated themselves to its largeness, the color of California was a thing to make one gasp. It affronted the puritan temperament with its too abundant charm. . . ."¹⁰ "Bleak," "terrible" and "barren" were adjectives commonly used to describe the strange, treeless land. By the turn of the century, however, with the comforts of urban civilization readily available, the color and form of the landscape were increasingly appreciated and touted. Hardly an issue of the *Overland Monthly* or *Sunset Magazine* lacked the almost obligatory paean to the humble California poppy that then covered hillsides in far greater profusion than today. George Sterling's emurpled poems, in particular, are heavy with coloristic excess. "Gold" was the favored adjective to describe the terrain and its products; Robert Reid's murals in the coffered dome of the Palace of Fine Arts rotunda symbolically illustrated the four golds of California—gold, wheat, oranges and, of course, poppies.

Mary Austin saw the exposition as the natural outgrowth of the Western environment:

[The West] has made this exposition the richest dyed, the patterned splendor of all their acres of poppies, of lupines, of amber wheat, of rosy orchard, and of jade-tinted lakes. Beside a sea which runs from lion color to chrysoprase and sapphire blueness, they have laid down a building scheme which is as bright as an Indian blanket.¹¹

Fully aware, as were architects of the time, that clas-



sical architecture had *not* originally been white, as the Chicago fair was, Austin noted that one would have to "hark back to the days of Pompeii and the Greco-Roman splendor to find its like," but that even such a comparison was insufficient, "for the color of California is to the color of Italy as a rose is to its pressed remembrance in a book."¹²

Jules Guerin himself wrote that the landscape was his inspiration:

I saw the vibrant tints of the native wild flowers, the soft brown of the surrounding hills, the gold of the oranges, the blue of the sea; and I determined that, just as a musician builds his symphony around a motif or chord, so must I strike a chord of color and build my symphony on this.¹³

Architect William Woollett was nearly unhinged by the spectacle:

No greater Roman holiday was ever made than this. Shades of Stanford White stalk nightly in this wonder place, where the gemmed star maidens look down on dusky sisters clothed in Oriental sepia. The dead spleen of Vitruvius should gather grit to see so lordly a scheme go through the color pots. Yellow domes atop these clas-



Architect-designed palace exteriors housed utilitarian exhibit hall interiors. At Sixth Street and Avenue A in the Palace of Mines and Metallurgy, visitors reviewed mechanical exhibits prepared by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Mines. CHS, San Francisco

sic piles proclaim against the cerulean blue in unmistakable paean, "Who did this thing?"¹⁴

Hand-tinted photographs suggest that the fair was a garish display of pinks, blues, orange and red. Primitive color films suggest more muted harmonies entirely in keeping with Guerin's watercolors. Frank Morton Todd's description of the Palace of Fine Arts gives some idea of the tonality of the exposition:

The columns of the peristyle were pale green, the groups of four [columns] were ochre. The wall of the gallery was Pompeian red, with a vine covered pergola overhead. The dome of the rotunda was burnt orange with a turquoise green border. Below its panels an attic of green marble.¹⁵

The Panama Pacific International Exposition was a communal re-creation of a make-believe past for the raw, young settlement in California, an "ancient" walled city of plaster and lath lasting only nine months and then falling as in some biblical ca-

lamity. The romanticism of the fair was uniquely Californian (Edmund Wilson wrote of the state: "It is the only place I have seen in the United States where romance seems pervasive and inevitable"¹⁶) and was the cumulative product of the court scheme, illumination, color and—most of all—material.

Previous fairs had employed lath frameworks covered with white plaster to simulate marble. These nougat palaces fooled no one, created a fierce midday glare, yet were relatively inexpensive and quick to build and demolish.

The idea of using a different facing material originated with McKim, Mead and White's 1910 Pennsylvania Station in New York, a structure modeled after the Roman Baths of Caracalla and so vast that finishing the entire interior with Roman travertine proved entirely uneconomical. Instead, an artificial travertine was fabricated that so closely matched the real material as to be indistinguishable. When selected to design the Court of Honor ("Court of the Universe") at the Panama Pacific International Exposition, an architect in the McKim, Mead and White firm suggested the exterior use of artificial travertine for the entire fair. Paul Denivel of New York was engaged and developed an exterior facing that assured the desired effect.

The base travertine was a mellow old ivory with horizontal striations and vesicles. It was used for wall surfaces, balustrades, fountains, and a great deal of the sculpture. Red Numidian, yellow Sienna, and other rare marbles were simulated as accents against the buff travertine ground.

Expositions since Chicago had appeared as "new" classical cities, but the Panama Pacific International Exposition's "walls, columns, and statues seem as though several centuries had linked them to the soil. What a welcome contrast to the white and garish buildings one usually finds in exposition



grounds!"¹⁷ Here was a city that, even if it hadn't been built in a mythical mediæval California, should have been.

In addition to its artificial, weatherbeaten, earth-rooted age, the fair's eclecticism and setting suggested images far more exotic than previous expositions. Admittedly, the architectural vocabulary was overwhelmingly classical—the Court of the Universe suggested the forecourt of St. Peter's Basilica, the Court of the Seasons Hadrian's Villa, the Palace of Machinery the Baths of Caracalla, the Column of Progress Trajan's Column—while Mullgardt's Court of the Ages eluded classification or derivation altogether:

The Gothic clearly predominates, with traces of English, Spanish, and Portuguese elements. With further hint of Romanesque, of Moorish, and of French influence, these varying elements have been so fused in the imagination of the architect that the resultant creation is independent of them all in its daring.¹⁸

If any one geographic theme united the inner fair, it was the Mediterranean:

Under a dominating Moorish-Spanish general form, the

single architect of the group, W. B. Faville, of San Francisco, drawing upon the famous styles of many lands and schools, has combined into an ordered and vastly impressive whole not only the structural art of the Orient and of the great Spanish builders, but also the principles of the Italian Renaissance and the architecture of Greece and Rome from which it sprang. Thus, the group is wholly Southern in its origin. There is no suggestion here of the colder Gothic architecture of the North.¹⁹

Indeed, the Mediterranean inspiration was to be expected in California's climate and landscape, particularly on the shores of San Francisco Bay.

More surprising is the vaguely located "Orientalism" of the walled city. One guidebook describes the Palace of Horticulture as "Byzantine in its architecture, suggesting the Mosque of Ahmed I, at Constantinople, its Gallic decorations have made it essentially French in spirit."²⁰ The color, the travertine walls with their immense portals, the green and golden domes, the vaguely minaret-like towers and the fountains in the courtyards all conjured an Arabian Nights fantasy whether seen from within, from the Bay or from the backing ridge of Pacific Heights. "[The Exposition]," wrote journalist Ben



Macomber, “reflects in its plan the walled cities of the Orient of the Mediterranean, where fountains play in the courts of palaces, in public squares and niches in the walls; and pools lie by the mosques, and in the gardens.”²¹

It was thus possible for a viewer of the period to create any fantasy he or she might wish from the rich panoply of architectural allusions and illusions presented. The fair was likened to a Maxfield Parrish dream, but it was just as appropriate to see in it the superb Guérin illustrations of Levantine cities that graced *Scribner's Magazine* prior to the fair. Guérin himself likened the fair to a gigantic Persian rug at the foot of Pacific Heights, while William D'Arcy Ryan noted the resemblance to the bazaars of Damascus, Cairo and Constantinople. It was to the latter city that the fair owed its greatest debt of inspiration.

The symbolism of the Golden Gate is apparent in its name. Shortly before the Gold Rush, John C. Fremont had christened the remarkable water gap

“Chrysopylae,” in clear reference to the harbor at ancient Constantinople—“Chrysoceras,” or Golden Horn. The name was prophetic, for here was a new gateway between East and West predestined for a city of imperial dimensions and pretensions. In a poem published in the *Overland Monthly* in 1888 and 1907, the cities “At the Golden Horn and the Golden Gate” are characteristically contrasted; Istanbul is noted for its torpid decay and apathy, while San Francisco “[Joys] in her birthright, unafraid/She bares her bosom to the Western sea.” The poem ends with the sententious stanza:

Deepens the shadow of the night of fate,
And darkness closes round the Golden Horn:
But radiantly above the Golden Gate
Breaks the resplendence of a glorious morn.²²

On the far Pacific Slope, it was widely believed, America would fall heir to the wealth and culture of fabled Byzantium or Rome without their hoary depravity. That promise—and the reality of the jerry-built city that actually rose beside the great Gate—is one of the oldest and most consistent themes in San Francisco commentary. As early as 1871, Henry

"A cloister enclosing nothing, a colonnade without a roof"—the beloved Palace of Fine Arts, designed by Bernard Maybeck and still under construction in this photograph, is the only building remaining from the exhibition today. CHS, San Francisco

Wall surfaces, balustrades, fountains, and sculpture crafted from old ivory-color artificial travertine made the new buildings of classical design seem timelessly ancient. CHS, San Francisco

George ruefully remarked that San Francisco had "an opportunity to build up a great city, in which tenement houses and blind alleys would be unknown; in which there would be less poverty, suffering, crime and social and political corruption than in any city of our time, of equal numbers."²³ The city that actually sprawled across the dunes, hills and marshes of the Peninsula was a flagrant admission of failure; its gridiron of streets was imposed "as one might constrict the wayward fancies of a gypsy maiden to the cold, tight-laced ethics of a Puritanical creed,"²⁴ and its corruption, vice and violence gained it a worldwide reputation.

As a make-believe imperial city, the fair was pervaded with images of Manifest Destiny, Social Darwinism, racism and conquest. The implications of its location by the symbolic Gate, like that of the Gate-oriented university across the Bay in Berkeley, were not missed. Whether through military conquest or commerce, San Francisco would become the bazaar of the Pacific Basin by the superior virtue of Anglo-Saxon enterprise. William D'Arcy Ryan noted in 1913 that "... the Exposition . . . will be set actually beside salt water, on the ultimate frontier of the race's march eastward from its cradle in Asia, on the final coast where only the sea intervenes between it and what surveyors call 'the point of commencement.'"²⁵

Fronting on the Bay with the summit of Tamalpais, the promontories and islands of Marin and the mysterious distances of San Pablo Bay and the interior valleys beyond, the jeweled city could be whatever or whenever one wanted it to be. Architect William Woollett conjured images only slightly more fevered than those of other observers:

In the panorama of this exposition we may in our imagination see in sumptuous array of color, vast bundles of oriental stuffs, vistas of palaces and temples and arcaded halls, and the garden of Babylon and visions of Atlanta



come true near the cobalt waters of the Pacific. We may sprinkle this oriental melee of color with gems of the Indus, whilst the galleys of victorious fleets laden with captured splendors vie with each other for landing space at the steps of the Great Water Gate.²⁶

The Panama Pacific International Exposition was, above all, a brief realization of the Byzantine myth of perfection in which millions of spectators participated for nine months. Superbly ordered, it was everything that San Francisco was not and has never been; it was a model of cooperative amity in which everything worked efficiently, it was colorful and majestic, its public gestures were lordly, it appeared to be both ancient and perdurable, and it seemed to be the ideal marriage of art and industry. This perfect union, despite jarring particulars such as the Zone, made the walled city seem an artifice of eternity that strikingly resembled William Butler Yeats's own vision of Byzantium. Its soft and mysterious lighting indeed suggested that

At midnight on the Emperor's pavement flit
Flames that no faggot feeds, nor steel has lit,



while its sculpture quite literally hailed the superman.

It is this self-conscious “artifice of eternity,” created by a rare collaboration of artists, engineers, gardeners, businessmen and politicians, that accounted for the unanimous love that the fair inspired and the vivid memories it engendered even in toddlers. Far more than Disneyland, or anything else since 1915, it seems to have been a magic kingdom whose power lay in its evocation of time as well as of place.

Rivaled only by Mullgardt’s Court of the Ages, the Palace of Fine Arts was the most beloved building at the fair, its superbly evocative beauty saving it from ultimate demolition. While the rest of the fair may have seemed an artifice of eternity, Maybeck’s Palace drew much of its success from a melancholic celebration of the transitory. Frank Morton Todd wrote that “it represented the beauty and grandeur of the past. A cloister enclosing nothing, a colon-

Popular amusements titillated visitors to “The Zone,” a midway of rides, games, and sideshows boasting human and animal wonders. CHS, San Francisco

When the fair closed after ten glorious months, some of the small halls were floated off to new destinations. A raft took the Ohio State Building to Coyote Point in San Mateo County. CHS, San Francisco

nade without a roof, stairs that ended nowhere, a fane with a lonely votary kneeling at a dying flame, fluted shafts that rose, half hid in vines, from the lush growth of an old swamp. . . .”²⁷ The elegiacal theme was, Todd also noted, inspired by Arnold Böcklin’s moody painting “The Isle of the Dead,” while the vocabulary of ruin is clearly taken from the visionary etchings of Piranesi. The melancholic theme—emphasized by the dark and irregular reflecting lagoon, the weeping maidens guarding caskets on the peristyle (meant to hold trees), and the intentional overgrowth that once sprang from monumental planter boxes—is meant to express the sadness that both the artist and the viewer feel for the inability of even the greatest art to reach perfection.²⁸

The Palace was universally admired, despite the shocking liberties it took with the classical orders. Professor van Noppen of Columbia remarked that “the Palace of Fine Arts is so sublime, so majestic, and is the product of such imagination that it would have graced the age of Pericles,”²⁹ while Thomas Edison exclaimed, “The architect of that building is a genius. There is not the equal anywhere on earth.”³⁰ In succeeding years, the Palace became exactly what its creator had intended, a vast and decadent ruin whose garish colors bleached to sunset tones of russet and ochre. Asked in old age what he felt should be done about the collapsing Palace, Maybeck characteristically responded:

I think the main building should be torn down and redwoods planted around—completely around—the rotunda. . . . As they grow, the columns would slowly crumble at approximately the same speed. Then I would like to design an altar, with the figure of a maiden praying, to install in that grove of redwoods. . . . I should like my palace to die behind those great trees of its own accord, and become its own cemetery.³¹



The Panama Pacific International Exposition proved so popular (and profitable) that long before its closing proposals were being made to save all or part of it. Architect Willis Polk, in particular, lobbied heavily for the preservation of the Palace of Fine Arts, Palace of Horticulture, South and North Gardens, and the Avenue of Palms. Louis Christian Mullgardt told the Commonwealth Club that “when the Exposition buildings are torn down, then we will have destroyed one of the greatest architectural units which has ever been created in the history of the world.”³² The influential club, like many others, passed a resolution pleading for the preservation of as much of the fair as possible.

Speculative forces proved far stronger than the dream, however, and the arches and towers were brought down in clouds of colored plaster, revealing in their fall the underlying lath framework. The South Gardens were scraped clean of plantings, fountains, and sculpture, and small buildings were moved to the waterfront and barged throughout the Bay Area. The North Gardens (Marina Green) and

Yacht Harbor remained, a gift of the Exposition, along with the Column of Progress with its “Adventurous Bowman” at the end of Scott Street until, in the 1920s, it succumbed to automobile collisions and was pulled down. The immense California Building, just north of the Palace of Fine Arts, was seriously proposed for a State Normal School, and Maybeck prepared plans for converting the rotunda of his Palace into an adjacent auditorium while remodeling the entire Palace in a sympathetic Mission style. As plans fell through, the California Building was razed as well, leaving only the Palace of Fine Arts, fortunately unremodeled, to decay by its lagoon. The nearby French Pavilion was reerected in permanent materials in Lincoln Park as the Palace of the Legion of Honor, a copy of a copy of the original Legion of Honor in Paris.

It was altogether appropriate that the Panama Pacific International Exposition fell when it did, for it had opened beyond its rightful era, the last of the great beaux-arts fairs. The guns of August in Europe proclaimed a new age and throughout the summer and fall of 1915 news arrived of unprecedented



carnage and destruction. Frank Morton Todd lamented:

The general feeling of helplessness and of endless tragedy was aggravated by the fact that every great teacher that had declared war among civilized nations to be no longer possible was proved to be wrong, and no prophet that promised security to life and prosperity and family and love and culture and other things of peace that make life worth while, was any more to be believed.³³

While only a Henry Adams might then have perceived the emblems of aggression and oppression that permeated the fair, the war assured that it would never again be possible to so uncritically celebrate the steady ascension of Progress, Technology and Civilization.

Notes

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4. Ernest Coxhead, "A Waterfront Exposition Would Mean

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10. Mary Austin, "Art Influence in the West," *The Century Magazine*, April 1915, p. 829.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 830.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Quoted in Elmer Grey, "The P.P.I.E. of 1915," *Scribners Magazine* 54 (1915): 48.
14. William Woolett, "Color in Architecture at the Panama Pacific Exposition," *Architect and Engineer* 42, no. 1 (July 1915): 67.
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16. Wilson, *Letters on Literature and Politics*.
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Arches and towers that had once awed the world came tumbling down in clouds of colored plaster, revealing the simple lath framework of Byzantium's wonders. CHS, San Francisco

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25. William D'Arcy Ryan, "New Light on an Exposition," *Sunset Magazine*, March 1913, p. 293.
26. Woollett, *Color in Architecture*, p. 65.
27. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 2:315-17.
28. The best discussion of the Palace of Fine Arts is found in William Jordy, *American Buildings and Their Architects* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972), 3:275-300.
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32. L. C. Mullgardt, *Commonwealth Transactions*, August 1915, p. 360.
33. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 2:133.

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PREJUDICE GOES TO COURT

The Japanese &
the Supreme Court
in the 1920s

M. Browning Carrott

In May 1905, the San Francisco Board of Education drafted a plan to establish separate schools for Asian students because it believed association with children of the Mongolian race was detrimental to Caucasian children. Japanese children, the board claimed, were particularly vicious and immoral. Although one Japanese third grader, Kazuye Togasaki, later became a physician and a San Francisco's Woman of the Year—symbolizing the waning of overt anti-Japanese discrimination in the decades which followed—during the first half of the twentieth century, Japanese in the United States were barred from citizenship, land ownership, and even from attending Japanese language schools. Far from protecting their rights against incursions by demagogic newspaper editors, politicians, and a frightened racist public, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a series of decisions in the 1920s which further institutionalized anti-Japanese prejudice.

Although Japanese immigration to the continental United States began in the last decades of the nineteenth century, fewer than 25,000 had arrived by 1900. Thereafter, the pace of immigration quickly accelerated, however, and by 1910 over 72,000 Japanese resided in the continental United States. In 1908, under pressure from the United States, the American and Japanese governments entered into a "Gentlemen's Agreement" in which Japan agreed to withhold passports from those who applied to enter the

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From 1925 to 1929 this largely conservative United States Supreme Court thwarted cases involving attempts by Japanese immigrants to obtain citizenship and own land. The roster: (seated, from left) James C. McReynolds, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Chief Justice William Howard Taft, Willis VanDevanter, Louis D. Brandeis; (standing) Edward T. Sanford, George Sutherland, Pierce Butler, Harlan Fiske Stone.

The right to naturalized citizenship became a primary issue for California Japanese families like that of restaurant owner Naka Kumataru. CHS, San Francisco



After 1900 Japanese immigrants concentrated in largely agricultural counties. In this view c. 1910, the mostly male patrons of Mr. Tamaki's general store and hotel in Sacramento posed for a visiting photographer.

United States as laborers, thus reducing for a few years the flow of Japanese to the West Coast.²

Because many early Japanese immigrants came from agricultural areas of Japan, they initially found work as farm laborers. Others took jobs on railroads, in canneries and forests, and in mining, meatpacking, and salt production industries. Hard-working, uncomplaining, and willing to work for low wages, the Japanese quickly incurred the enmity of unions and other employee organizations. In urban centers, the Japanese had more difficulty finding employment, particularly in better-paying industries such as cigar,

Ozawa possessed all qualifications to be a good citizen [but] the U.S. District Court in Hawaii dismissed his petition for naturalization in 1916.

shoe, and clothing manufacturing. As a result many turned to agriculture, where they sought to acquire land of their own—and where they became economic competitors with white American farmers. This was particularly true in California, which by 1910 contained over half of the Japanese in the United States. In California, the Japanese became concentrated in the Alameda, Fresno, Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco, and San Joaquin counties, with Los Angeles County leading in numbers.³

As the Japanese immigration to California accelerated after 1900, popular attitudes towards them became increasingly hostile. In the February 23, 1905, issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a typical story appeared under the front-page banner: "The Japanese Invasion, The Problem of the Hour." On December 20, 1906, the Hearst press began its own thirty-five year campaign against Japan with this statement in

the *San Francisco Examiner* warning of Japanese spies: "Japan Sounds Our Coast—Brown Men Have Maps and Could Land Easily." A few days later the *Examiner* claimed that Japanese troops had arrived in Hawaii in the guise of coolies in order to prepare secretly for hostilities, and that these troops practiced infantry drill with rifles two or three nights a week after dark. In 1916, the International Film Service, another part of the Hearst empire, continued the campaign against the Yellow Peril with a motion picture, *Patria*, which showed Japanese troops invading California with the aid of Mexico and committing atrocities against the local population. A few years later, a prominent state politician, U.S. Senator James D. Phelan, warned a special session of the California legislature in 1919 that a "Jap is a Jap" and that "the native Japanese are as undesirable as the imported."⁴

This rising hostility and antagonism toward the Japanese of course meant that they had a difficult time securing equal treatment under the law, and in the 1920s, the Supreme Court effectively validated discrimination against Japanese immigrants. Under the leadership of Chief Justice William Howard Taft, whom President Warren Harding appointed in 1921, the Court adhered to a conservative position in its willingness to strike down any measure regulating property and its unsympathetic attitude towards personal rights. On many occasions, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, appointed in 1902, and Louis Brandeis, appointed in 1916, objected to Taft's view of the Constitution, but they were unsuccessful in undermining the basic conservatism which dominated the 1920s Court. Accordingly, those who asserted the rights of minority groups before the nation's highest court during this decade faced a steeply uphill fight.⁵

Cases concerning the Japanese which came before the Court during the 1920s arose in three main areas: the right to acquire U.S. citizenship, the right to



possess land for agricultural use, and the freedom to use the Japanese language in private schools.

Because Congress had never made it possible for Asians to become naturalized citizens, the right to citizenship became a primary issue. In the United States, Congress alone determines eligibility for naturalization, and racism has consistently influenced policymaking on this matter. The first Naturalization Act of 1790 allowed only free white aliens to become American citizens; in 1870, after the abolition of slavery, Congress extended this privilege to aliens of African nativity and descent. At that time, the Senate debated the naturalization of Asians, but senators from the West Coast successfully opposed Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner's efforts to remove racial restrictions from the law. Since there were 63,000 Chinese in the United States in 1870 and only 55 Japanese, senators limited their discussion to the former group; most probably never considered the status of Japanese. With the

1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Congress not only barred Chinese from entering the country but also made them ineligible for naturalization. Although Congress drafted a comprehensive Naturalization Act in 1906, it merely dealt with procedural issues and did not consider the question of eligibility for citizenship. Prior to the 1920s, however, the lower federal courts had permitted the naturalization of many Asians.⁶

The Supreme Court decided the issue of citizenship for Asians in November 1922 in the landmark case of *Ozawa vs. United States*. Takao Ozawa, a Japanese alien, had applied for naturalized U.S. citizenship. Ozawa had resided in California and Hawaii for twenty years, had attended the University of California, Berkeley, for three years, and had educated his children in American schools. His family attended American churches, and family members spoke English at home. As the opinion of the Supreme Court indicated, Ozawa possessed all qualifications to be a good citizen. However, the U.S.



District Court in Hawaii dismissed his petition for naturalization in 1916, and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals certified or officially requested answers to three questions by the Supreme Court in 1917. The first question asked whether the Naturalization Act of 1906, which omitted any mention of race and therefore did not specifically exclude anyone from citizenship, had superseded earlier laws limiting naturalization to white persons and those of African descent. The second question asked if a person of the Japanese race, born in Japan, could acquire citizenship through naturalization. The third question inquired whether, assuming that the 1906 Naturalization Act had *not* by implication repealed earlier laws barring citizenship to non-whites and non-African Americans, an alien of the Japanese race could ever obtain citizenship.⁷

Political and diplomatic considerations kept the Supreme Court from answering these questions for five years. In June 1918, Secretary of State Robert Lansing asked Solicitor General John W. Davis to

delay further consideration of the case until the end of World War I, mentioning Japan's assistance in the war against Germany and the Japanese sensitivity on the citizenship issue. Davis fully acceded to Lansing's request. Lansing also requested that the Japanese Embassy persuade Ozawa to drop the case. Ambassador Ishii told Lansing that although he agreed with Lansing's position, he could not dissuade the plaintiff from pressing his suit.⁸

The delay continued into the postwar period because both the federal government and Ozawa's attorney, the prominent George W. Wickersham, felt that political considerations required a further postponement.⁹ Relations between the two countries had become more sensitive because of American concern over rising Japanese power in the Far East, especially in China. The leading naval powers had called the upcoming Washington Naval Conference, scheduled for November 1921, to negotiate limits on naval armaments. As a country with a growing navy, this subject was of particular interest to the Japanese.

Because of these delaying tactics, the Supreme Court did not hear the Ozawa case until the fall of 1922. The brief filed with the Court on Ozawa's behalf argued that since the Naturalization Act of 1906 had not specifically excluded the Japanese, they were definitely eligible to become American citizens. It said that this statute had so overhauled naturalization laws and procedures that it had superseded earlier provisions restricting this right to white persons and those of African descent and nativity. Building a case for citizenship, the brief used an argument designed to show Japanese superiority to other Asians: "The Japanese are 'free.' They are, or at least the dominant strains, are 'white persons,' speaking an Aryan tongue and having Caucasian root stocks; a superior class fit for citizenship. . . . The Japanese are commonly called 'The Yankees of the Orient.' " It was not uncommon for the Japanese themselves to use similar racist arguments based on supposed Japanese superiority to the Chinese or Japanese identification with Caucasians.¹⁰

The brief for the Justice Department submitted by Solicitor General Beck insisted that the Japanese were not white and that the Naturalization Act of 1906 did not extend the privileges of citizenship to those not previously eligible. An *amicus curiae* brief, filed by Attorney General U.S. Webb of California, strongly praised the national policy of denying naturalization to Asians, using the familiar argument that they could never assimilate with white Americans. Furthermore, he maintained, the Asian posed a particular threat to American farm life:

The American family reared along the lines of American traditions with the father managing the farm, the mother presiding in the home, and the children during their younger years attending school, cannot compete with the Oriental farm life wherein children and mother join with the father in the actual farm labor, and in addition do not enjoy conditions of life which are demanded by the American standard of living.¹¹

Speaking through Justice George Sutherland, the Supreme Court, without dissent, rejected Ozawa's claim to citizenship.¹² Sutherland viewed the Naturalization Act of 1906 as a procedural measure which did not alter the previous substantive policy of limiting naturalization to whites and African-Americans. If Congress had desired to make this important change, according to the opinion, it would have so indicated in a more affirmative manner. In rejecting the argument of the petitioner that at least some of the Japanese belonged to the white race, the justice said that skin color did not provide an adequate test for

Hard-working, uncomplaining, and willing to work for low wages, the Japanese quickly incurred the enmity of unions and other employee organizations.

determining citizenship since color varied greatly among members of the same race.

In May 1925, the Supreme Court rejected another Japanese claim for citizenship in the case of *Hide-nitsu Toyota vs. United States*. Because of Toyota's service in the U.S. Coast Guard during World War I, the U.S. District Court in Massachusetts accepted his 1921 petition for naturalization based on a law passed in 1918, stating that any alien who had served in the armed forces during wartime could file for citizenship without meeting the normal five-year residency requirement. At the behest of the government, however, the District Court had cancelled the certificate of naturalization in 1923, ruling that the law did not apply to Asian aliens. The First Circuit Court of Appeals then certified or raised the question to the Supreme Court. Speaking through Justice Pierce Butler, the Court accepted the government's

contention that Toyota had no valid claim to American citizenship. (Chief Justice Taft dissented without opinion.)¹³

The Toyota decision remained in effect for only eleven years; in 1936 Congress enacted a law which permitted the naturalization of all aliens who had served in the armed forces during World War I and who had maintained a permanent residence in the United States.¹⁴ Since there is no record of the congressional debate, it is difficult to determine why the subject came up at that time. Perhaps Congress de-

Skin color did not provide an adequate test for determining citizenship since color varied greatly among members of the same race.

cided that Asian veterans of World War I deserved better treatment.

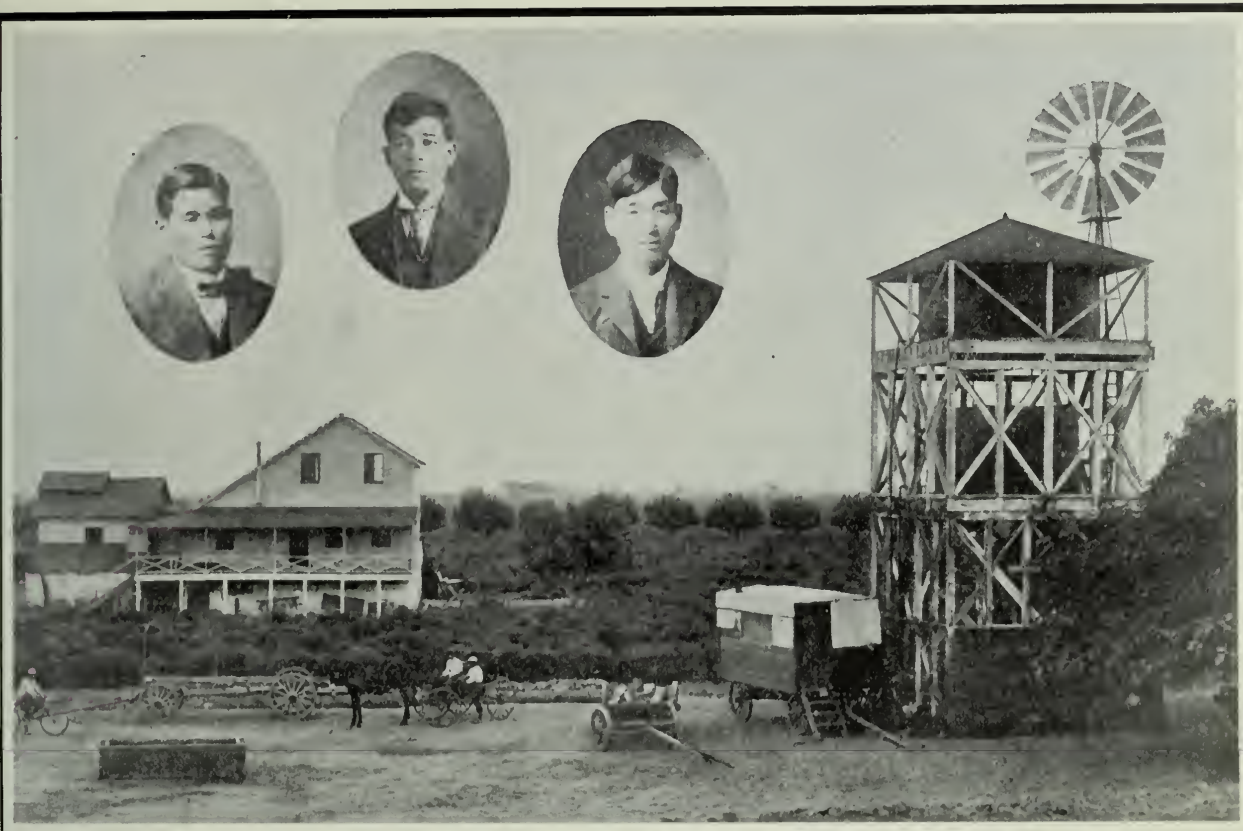
In the 1920s, the Supreme Court also decided the extent to which the states could restrict the right of the Japanese to own and lease land. The Japanese had become a target in this matter because of their intensive farming of fruits and vegetables, their profitable adoption of experimental techniques for farming desert and swampy land which others regarded as unfit for cultivation, and their abilities as businessmen. Therefore, as the Japanese increased in number and enjoyed greater economic success, particularly in truck farming, a number of states passed laws limiting landholding by aliens who were not specifically mentioned as eligible for citizenship. Since the Japanese were concentrated in California, the first restrictions appeared there.¹⁵ Historian Spencer Olin analyzes some of the reasons:

The Japanese began to acquire land and to employ as workers members of their own race exclusively, thereby reducing the farm labor pool. As the Japanese land owners began to monopolize such cheap farm labor, they incurred the animus of both large and small growers. The Japanese were no longer a convenient source of manpower, but had gradually become active competitors for farm labor, farm land, and agricultural markets.¹⁶

In their quest to obtain land, the Japanese easily antagonized both large and small farmers. Smaller operators resented the competition of those who excelled at the intensive truck farming methods, while larger operators dislike their inroads into their labor supply. Furthermore, rising racial prejudice made the Japanese an even more appealing target. Passage of a restrictive law giving vent to this hostility—the 1913 Alien Land Act—was almost inevitable.¹⁷

The Alien Land Act was preceded by similar attempts to prevent Japanese land ownership, but in each case presidential objections to the passage of measures offending Japan prevented these bills from becoming law. In 1907 a bill was introduced into the California legislature prohibiting all aliens from owning land for more than five years and limiting leasing of land to one year. Objections from President Theodore Roosevelt and Governor James Gillett, however, proved decisive in defeating this measure. Pressure from President Roosevelt convinced Governor Gillett and the legislature that a similar bill, proposed in 1909, would have an unfortunate impact on relations between the United States and Japan. In 1911 the California Senate again passed a law forbidding aliens ineligible for citizenship to own land, but opposition from President Taft helped bring about the demise of this bill in the Assembly.¹⁸

Increasing ownership and leasing of land by the Japanese led to further attempts to impose restrictions. According to one study, based on Japanese figures which may have been somewhat inflated, Japanese ownership of land in California between



1910 and 1913 rose from 17,000 to 27,000 acres, while land tenancy went from 177,000 acres to 255,000 acres.

In response to this dramatic increase, and despite objections from President Wilson and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan that Japan would bitterly resent this measure, the California Senate and Assembly overwhelmingly passed the Alien Land Act in 1913. Governor Hiram Johnson said that because the measure had been approved by such a large majority, he felt compelled to sign it. (Governor Johnson approved the law not only to enhance his own popularity, but also to challenge President Wilson, his political rival, who as a Democrat would have had little chance of convincing the strongly Republican state to rescind the embarrassing measure.¹⁹)

Section one of the Act permitted all aliens eligible for citizenship to acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, and inherit real property. Section two said that the right of all other aliens to own property depended

solely on any existing treaty between the United States and the nation of which the alien was a citizen. Section three imposed similar restraints on the holding of land by corporations where aliens ineligible for citizenship owned a majority of the capital stock. Sections five and six established procedures by which land acquired in violation of the statute would revert (or escheat) to the state.²⁰

The California law of 1913 referred to the Treaty of 1911 between the United States and Japan which allowed the citizens of each country the rights to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, and to lease land for residential and commercial purposes upon the same basis as citizens. While the treaty did not mention the ownership of land or its leasing for agricultural uses, the California law allowed aliens ineligible for citizenship to lease farm land for three years.²¹

California's Alien Land Act of 1913 was the first



measure depriving the Japanese of any substantial rights in the United States, and its passage testified to the growing hostility toward the Japanese. Many California Japanese, however, could evade the Alien Land Act by placing land in the name of their children, who held American citizenship because of birth in the United States, or in the name of a Caucasian friend. Furthermore, the law did not completely prohibit the purchase of stock in a farming corporation. Ironically, during World War I Japanese agriculture in California entered its most prosperous years, with the Japanese estimated at war's end to have owned or leased 1 percent of the land under cultivation, which produced 10 percent of the dollar value of the state's crops.²²

After World War I, racist antipathy towards the Japanese grew as their hard work brought noticeably greater economic success. Other states then followed California's lead in enacting alien land laws: Arizona passed a similar measure in 1917,

Louisiana in 1921, New Mexico in 1922, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon in 1923, and Kansas in 1925. But the greatest animosity toward the Japanese developed in California and Washington, the states with the most Japanese residents. Out of a total Japanese population in the United States of 111,000 in 1920, California claimed 71,900 and Washington 17,300. Census figures for 1920 suggest why Japanese agriculture became such a target in these two states.²³

In California in 1920, only 4.4 percent of all farm operators were Japanese, and they worked only 1.2 percent of all the farmed land. But while Japanese holdings were small when compared with the total figures, they were concentrated in certain counties. In California, where the Japanese constituted a large proportion of non-white farmers, five counties had a substantial number of Japanese farmers:²⁴ Not many Japanese owned farms, but they made up a sizable percentage of the tenant farmers in these five counties.

Similarly, in Washington Japanese farmers operated

Even prosperous Westernized Japanese such as automobile parts dealer Tahashi Mitani could not become naturalized citizens because of their race.

only 1 percent of all farms and farmed only .2 percent of all acres farmed. But almost 11,000 of the 17,300 Japanese living in Washington resided in King County, which included the City of Seattle. This concentration attracted attention and hostility.²⁵

After World War I, both California and Washington reacted against their Japanese residents' economic gains. According to one account "Returning soldiers and dismissed war workers saw in the Japanese barriers to their re-establishment as farmers and to their obtaining jobs."²⁶ The xenophobic nationalism stirred up by World War I and the succeeding Red Scare, the nativist pressure exerted by such groups as the American Legion, the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, the California State Federation of Labor, and the California State Grange, and the difficult postwar economic adjustments further sharpened already existing hostility towards the Japanese.

In November 1920, the voters of every county in California approved through the initiative process a new alien land act designed to plug the loopholes of the earlier law. This measure did not allow Asians to lease land for agricultural purposes or to acquire any stock in a corporation authorized to hold farm land, and it established a *prima facie* presumption of illegality if a person eligible to hold real estate took title to it after an ineligible person provided the funds. The state could punish violations of the law by bringing an action to claim the land in question (called *escheatment*).²⁷

In 1921, a year after California enacted its new alien land act, the Washington state legislature passed a measure which prohibited the ownership, possession, or use of land by an alien who had not in good faith declared his intention of becoming a U.S. citizen. The act neatly prevented aliens ineligible for citizenship such as the Japanese from owning land, for they could never declare their intention of becoming American citizens. This provision also applied to corporations where aliens owned a majority of the capital stock.²⁸

Two years later, in November 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down four decisions on California and Washington's alien land laws, all detrimental to the Japanese. In *Terrace vs. Thompson*, Terrace, a white American, desired to lease his agricultural property for five years to Nakatsuka, a Japanese alien. Attorney General L.L. Thompson threatened to sue if the parties carried out the leasing agreement. Terrace and Nakatsuka then brought suit against Thompson to restrain him from enforcing the state law, claiming that the Act violated the 1911 treaty with Japan and violated the Fourteenth Amendment by depriving the plaintiffs of their liberty and property without due process and denying them equal protection under the laws.²⁹

The U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington had held in 1921 that the Treaty of 1911 did not give the Japanese the right to lease land for farming. Further, it had added that Congress had passed the Fourteenth Amendment primarily to as-

	COUNTIES				
	<i>Alameda</i>	<i>Fresno</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>	<i>Sacramento</i>	<i>San Joaquin</i>
Farms operated by owners	1,886	7,291	8,578	1,840	3,290
Non-white owners	25	154	69	76	12
Farms operated by tenants	821	1,338	3,174	1,049	1,083
Non-white tenants	154	437	1,481	504	282

sist freed slaves, not to aid other groups. The wording of the opinion displayed the unselfconscious racism that permeated jurisprudence at the time:

The yellow or brown race color is the hallmark of Oriental despotism, or was at the time the original naturalization act was enacted. It was deemed that the subjects of these despotisms, with their fixed and ingrained pride in the type of their civilization, which works for its welfare by subordinating the individual to the personal authority of the sovereign, as the embodiment of the state, were not fitted and suited to make for the success of a republican form of government. Hence, they were denied citizenship.

In November 1920, the voters of every county in California approved a new alien land act designed to plug the loopholes of the earlier law.

The District Court concluded that an alien not eligible for citizenship lacked the interest to work effectively for the welfare of the state.³⁰

The appellants' petition to the Supreme Court in 1923 stressed that the Washington law of 1921 violated the due process clause since it prohibited aliens from engaging in a common occupation of the community and since it stopped the landowner from lawfully leasing his property; it deprived Nakatsuka of the equal protection of the laws because the state did not have a valid reason for discriminating against aliens who had not declared their intent to become citizens. In addition, the appeal read, the 1921 law contravened the part of the Treaty of 1911 which allowed Japanese to carry on trade and to lease land for commercial purposes. To counter these points, the brief for the attorney general stated that the Fourteenth Amendment did not give aliens the right to own or lease property, the Treaty with Japan did not

apply to the leasing of land for farming, and the state must have the power to protect itself against Asians controlling a large amount of land. The underlying argument was that Americans could not compete with Orientals in agriculture: "This is so because their standards of living are incomparably different. The Oriental works his wife and his family in the fields practically during all the hours of daylight, and his standard of living could not be adopted by an American."³¹

In its 1923 decision the Supreme Court concluded that the state had the authority to forbid aliens from holding land, and it would lose this power only if its actions were repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment or to a treaty. Since the state had followed the federal policy of discriminating only against certain aliens, the justices held that Washington's law was reasonable. Nor could the plaintiffs receive any protection from the Treaty of 1911, according to the opinion, because it did not give the Japanese the right to own or lease farming property. The Court concluded on a note of patriotic fervor: "The quality and allegiance of those who own, occupy, and use the farm lands within its borders are matters of highest importance and affect the safety and power of the state itself."³²

The Supreme Court's three other alien land cases involved California suits. In *Porterfield vs. Webb*, as in *Terrace vs. Thompson*, the plaintiffs, a Japanese alien and a white citizen who had made a contract for the rental of farm land, in Los Angeles County, sued California Attorney General Webb to restrain him from pressing a suit for the land. The plaintiffs lost in the lower court, and after they appealed to the Supreme Court, the attorney general of California submitted a brief reiterating the theme that because of differing family work habits the Japanese would achieve a dominant position in agriculture if not stopped by special restrictions. Jus-



tice Pierce Butler relied largely on the Terrace case in upholding the Alien Land Act of California.³³

In *Webb vs. O'Brien*, a white landowner and a Japanese alien had entered into a cropping agreement in Santa Clara County which would have allowed the alien to raise crops on the land in return for the owner taking one-half of the output. The U.S. District Court for Northern California granted an injunction in 1921 prohibiting the state from attempting to escheat or take over the land on the basis that the cropper could not have any legal rights to it. In the brief filed with the Supreme Court, State Attorney General Webb reemphasized the need to contain the activities of the Japanese. Agreeing with this position, Justice Butler held that if the Court sanctioned this cropping arrangement, aliens ineligible for citizenship would threaten the security of the state by controlling much of its farm land. He therefore reversed the decision of the lower court.³⁴

In the third case, *Frick vs. Webb*, a white American had agreed to sell stock in a company owning 220

acres of farm land in Merced County to a Japanese alien. When the attorney general threatened to institute an action to forfeit the share to the state, both the U.S. District Court for Northern California and the Supreme Court refused to issue a restraining order on the grounds that ownership of stock in a farm corporation was the same as holding an interest in the land.³⁵

In none of these four land cases did the Supreme Court reach a unanimous verdict. Justice George Sutherland did not participate in any of those decisions, and Justices Brandeis and James McReynolds dissented on the technicality that where the parties had not actually executed the contracts, the court had no grounds for hearing the cases.³⁶

In 1925, in *Cockrill vs. California*, the Supreme Court made its last attempt to crack down on people attempting to evade the 1920 Alien Land Act by registering land in their children's name. The Superior Court of Sonoma County convicted the defendants of conspiracy to transfer real estate in violation of



state law, the Court of Appeal upheld the verdict, and in 1923 the California Supreme Court declined to hear the case, after which it was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court.³⁷

Cockrill, an American citizen, had made a contract with Ikada, a Japanese alien, to purchase a piece of farm land with Cockrill taking title and Ikada furnishing the money and assuming possession of the property. While the state contended that the parties had conspired to evade the Alien Land Act, the defense maintained that Ikada had acquired the land for his children who were native-born, even though Ikada never actually placed the land in his children's name. Speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, Justice Butler said that the state had established a reasonable and constitutional method of controlling attempts to evade the Alien Land Act and therefore the Superior Court's original ruling against Cockrill was valid. Property could not be purchased by aliens for their native-born children.

A 1922 decision by the California Supreme Court in *In Re Tetsubumi Yano's Estate* ensured that the legal impact of the Cockrill decision for Japanese who put land in their children's name would be limited. After Yano had purchased fourteen acres of land in Sutter County and conveyed it to his four-year old daughter expressly to evade the Alien Land Act, he applied for guardianship over her person and property, knowing that the Act specifically prohibited a guardian's appointment over the estate of minor children if it consisted of property which the guardian could not legally hold. In this case the state Supreme Court held that this provision violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by discriminating arbitrarily against guardians who could not become American citizens; the right of a father to be guardian, it reasoned, had no reasonable relationship to citizenship. As a result, through the guardianship procedure Japanese aliens with American-born children were able to circum-

The Supreme Court upheld the right of families like that of Morimoto Masayoshi (or Seikichi) to attend private schools conducted in the Japanese language, although state courts maintained that these schools taught disloyalty to the United States government.

vent the Alien Land Act.³⁸

Despite the ensuing widespread use of this loophole, 1930 census figures show that the number of Japanese farmers declined in California from 5,152 in 1920 to 3,956 in 1930, while acreage farmed dropped from 361,000 acres to 191,000 acres. Scholars have debated the degree to which this decline resulted from passage of the Alien Land Act. According to Roger Daniels, "The measure was an attempt to lock the door after the horse had been stolen. Had it been enacted in 1913, when native-born Japanese were less numerous, it would have seriously inhibited Japanese acquisition of agricultural land. By 1920 its enactment was an empty gesture, an ineffective irritant." Historian John Modell, however, states that the decline in Japanese agriculture, at least in Los Angeles County, came about largely from increasing urban encroachment, not from lackadaisical enforcement of the Act.³⁹

On the other hand, some scholars have concluded that the Alien Land Act of 1920 had a severely damaging effect on Japanese agriculture. Masakazu Iwata holds that in 1921 the Japanese produced 12.3 percent of the total farm products in California, but by 1925 this figure had dropped to 9.3 percent. He ascribes this decline to the agricultural depression of the 1920s, the Alien Land Act, and the Exclusion Act of 1924 which barred further Japanese immigration. Similarly, Harry Kitano believes that although the Japanese could evade the specific legal implications of the Act, it still presented a symbolic threat:

An alien, denied the right to citizenship, denied the right to own or lease land, and finding himself under continuous harassment, would think twice before investing hard-earned money in land which might be taken away from him at any time. And in a capitalistic system where property rights are highly valued, the inability to own land is a tremendous handicap.⁴⁰

T. Scott Miyakawa supports this conclusion, observ-

ing that "the anti-alien land laws made land ownership speculative and unpredictable, subject to the pressure of the anti-Japanese leaders and the inclination of the district attorneys, rather than rational predictable capital."⁴¹

The movement to curb the rights of the Japanese in the 1920s extended to the Hawaiian Islands, where their number had increased to over 100,000. As with the alien land laws on the mainland which were aimed primarily at the Japanese, schools conducted in the Japanese language be-

The attorney general of California reiterated the theme that because of differing family work habits the Japanese would achieve a dominant position in agriculture.

came a principal target, perhaps because 147 of the islands' 163 foreign language schools were Japanese. Despite a number of court cases challenging the existence of foreign language schools, however, racist legislation against the Japanese in the area of education found less secure footing. In February 1927, in fact, the Supreme Court handed down a decision which was a major victory for Japanese language schools, and the impact of *Farrington vs. Tokushige* was felt by all Japanese in America, nowhere more strongly than in California.⁴²

The first measure regulating language in schools enacted by the Hawaiian territorial legislature provided for the licensing of all schools conducted in any language except English and Hawaiian. The purpose of the law was purportedly the Americanization of aliens, and the Department of Public Instruction was given the right to prescribe a school's course of study and to insist on use of the English language. Teachers

were also required to sign a pledge that they would observe the terms of the act and make the students loyal Americans. In 1925 the Department of Public Instruction significantly tightened these restrictions by ruling that until pupils had reached the age of fourteen or had completed the eighth grade, they could spend only one hour a day at foreign language schools.⁴³

Alleging that such burdensome requirements would force the closure of their schools, the operators of the private Japanese schools secured an injunction in 1925

Through the guardianship procedure, Japanese aliens with American-born children were able to circumvent the Alien Land Act. Despite this, the number of Japanese farmers declined.

from the U.S. District Court in Hawaii against the enforcement of these regulations. The following year the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed that the plaintiffs had the freedom to operate foreign-language schools, that teachers had the right to teach in them, and that students could receive instruction therein. The decision relied heavily on two earlier cases: *Meyer vs. Nebraska* (1923) and *Pierce vs. Society of Sisters* (1925), both of which used the Fourteenth Amendment to uphold the rights of private schools and their teachers. In the *Farrington* case, the Court of Appeals held that the presence of a large Japanese population in the Hawaiian Islands and the fear that it would soon constitute a majority of the electorate did not justify the drastic measure against the Japanese language schools.⁴⁴

In the brief submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court defending the licensing regulations, the attorney general of Hawaii said that Hawaii should not have to

“watch its foreign-born guests conduct a vast system of schools of American pupils . . . teaching them loyalty to a foreign country and disloyalty to their own country, and hampering them during their tender years in the learning of the home language in the public schools. . . .” On the other hand, the brief for the plaintiffs stressed that the Japanese schools taught complete loyalty to the United States and that Hawaii could not rightfully interfere with the parents’ fundamental freedom to direct the education of their children.⁴⁵

Speaking through Justice McReynolds, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the verdict of the Court of Appeals. Insisting that Japanese parents had the same liberty as others to control their children’s education, McReynolds ruled that the Hawaiian provisions went far beyond mere regulation of privately supported schools. Lest there be doubt about the Court’s sentiment, however, the opinion concluded that “we, of course, appreciate the grave problems incident to the large alien population of the Hawaiian Islands.”⁴⁶

The *Farrington* decision proved to be a boon for Japanese language schools in California, since the Court ruled that no state could now unduly regulate them. These schools reached their peak of popularity between 1930 and 1942, when wartime evacuation and internment of the Japanese disrupted them irreparably. In 1939 around 10,000 Japanese children in Los Angeles alone attended such schools, but by the mid-1960s only 2,000 remained in attendance.⁴⁷

Although conceived by the Founding Fathers to be the guardian of individual rights and liberties, the Supreme Court of the 1920s succumbed to popular racist arguments that the Japanese in the United States should receive as few rights as possible. Never did the Court seriously resist the nativist fears of white Americans, especially on the West Coast, that the Japanese posed a major threat to

their way of life. The justices accepted the alien land laws, denied claims by Japanese aliens and other Asians to citizenship, and upheld the Japanese only in the relatively less important area of language in private schools.⁴⁸ The Japanese, for their part, strongly desired to acquire citizenship in order to gain more protection against discriminatory legislation like the alien land acts, which interfered with one of their most important means of livelihood. Their chief victory came in a case where the Court had little choice; because of the precedents established by the Meyer and Pierce decisions, the justices were forced to uphold the rights of Japanese private schools.

Since Congress had never specifically authorized naturalization for Asians, it is more difficult to criticize the Court's failure to grant citizenship to Japanese aliens, but its decisions clearly revealed a willingness to adopt the prejudice that immigrants from northern Europe would make the best U.S. citizens.⁴⁹

Most open to question is the Court's handling of the alien land issue. In these cases the justices interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment to uphold burdensome and arbitrary economic restrictions, while in other decisions they used this amendment to strike down state regulation of private property. While Justices Brandeis and Holmes in particular filed dissenting opinions on the latter decisions, Holmes remained silent in the alien land cases, and Brandeis noted only procedural dissents.⁵⁰ In most of its opinions the Court reflected the same anti-Japanese prejudice common in this era to the nation's most vitriolic yellow journalists and opportunistic politicians.

Notes

1. Frank Chuman relates this incident in *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese-Americans* (Del Mar, 1976), p. 20. See also Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and The Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962); Harry H.L. Kitano, *Japa-*

nese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (Englewood Cliffs, 1969); and William Petersen, *Japanese Americans: Oppression and Success* (New York, 1971).

2. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1922), Part I, CXXIII, *Thirteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1913), I, 125; Chuman, *Bamboo People*, 33-7.
3. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, 15-16 162; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 13.
4. Chuman, *The Bamboo People*, 32, 77; Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, 70, 76.
5. For an overview of the Court in the 1920s, see Alpheus Mason, *William Howard Taft: Chief Justice* (New York, 1965). For information on the dissenters, see Alpheus Mason, *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life* (New York, 1946), and Francis Biddle, *Justice Holmes, Natural Law and the Supreme Court* (Washington, 1945).
6. 1 Stat. 103; 16 Stat. 256; *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d Session, 5, 148-77; John H. Wigmore "American Naturalization and the Japanese," *American Law Review*, XXVIII (November-December, 1894), 819-20; Milton Konvitz, *The Alien and the Asiatic* (Ithaca, 1946), pp. 83, 85-6; 22 Stat. 58; 34 Stat. 596-607; Konvitz, *The Alien and the Asiatic*, 81, 85.
7. 260 U.S. 178; On Certificate from the Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, 2-3, *Ozawa v. United States, Records and Briefs of the United States Supreme Court*, 260 U.S. 178.
8. *Lansing to Davis*, June 3, June 8, June 11, 1918, *Ozawa v. United States*, Record Group 60, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
9. Alex King, Solicitor General, to Senator James Phelan, June 16, 1919; King to James D. Faher, Clerk of the Supreme Court, October 2, 1919; Wickersham to Solicitor General William Frierson, September 16, 1920; Wickersham to Solicitor General James Beck, July 15, 1921; Beck to S.C. Haber, U.S. Attorney in Hawaii, August 13, 1921; and Wickersham to Beck, September 15, 1921, *ibid.*
10. Brief for Petitioner, 5-10, 16-22, 54, 58, *Records and Briefs*.
11. Brief for Government, *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 186-9; Brief of Attorney General of California, 120, 123 *Records and Briefs*.
12. Sutherland, appointed to the Supreme Court in 1922, was regarded as a conservative justice. See Joel Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man Against the State* (Princeton, 1951).
13. 268 U.S. 402; 290 F. 971. Like Sutherland, Butler was a conservative appointed to the Supreme Court in 1922. See Francis J. Brown, *The Social and Economic Philosophy of Pierce Butler* (Washington, 1945).
14. 49 Stat. 397-8.
15. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, 16-7, and T. Scott Miyakawa, review of Daniels' *The Politics of Prejudice in Southern California Quarterly* (March, 1964), 107. See also John Modell, *The*

The photograph of the Supreme Court is from Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy, eds., Letters of Louis D. Brandeis, vol. 5 (Albany, 1978). All the other photographs except the one by Dorothea Lange are from Japanese in California—A Pictorial History, Kaibara, ed. (Nichi Bei Times, 1911[?]).

- Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles* (Urbana, 1977), p. 46 and Roger Daniels and Harry H. L. Kitano, *American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970), p. 51.
16. Spencer C. Olin, Jr., "European Immigrant and Oriental Alien: Acceptance and Rejection by the California Legislature of 1913," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (August 1966), 309.
17. Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields* (Boston, 1939), pp. 111-3; Jacobus ten Broek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954), pp. 50-1; Modell, *Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 31-2; Fred H. Matthews, "White Community and 'Yellow Peril,'" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L (March 1964), 612-33; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, ch. 5; Daniels and Kitano, *American Racism*, 52; Thomas Bailey, "California, Japan and the Alien Land Legislation of 1913," *Pacific Historical Review*, I (March 1932), 58; and Charles H. Sullivan, "Alien Land Law: A Reevaluation," *Temple Law Quarterly*, XXXVI (Fall 1962), 33.
18. Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 261, 263-4.
19. *Ibid.*, 194; *Ibid.*, 269-70; Daniels and Kitano, *American Racism*, 51.
20. Cal. Stats., 1913, ch. 113, 206-8.
21. 37 Stat. 1504; Cal. Stats., 1913, 207.
22. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, 17; Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 38; Daniels and Kitano, *American Racism*, 50.
23. Dudley O. McGovney, "The Anti-Japanese Land Laws of California and Ten Other States," *California Law Review*, XXXV (March, 1947), 7-8; *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1922), III, 19, 106, 1,082.
24. *Ibid.*, VI, Part 3, 337, 344-8.
25. *Ibid.*, 258; III, 1,085.
26. Edwin E. Ferguson, "The California Alien Land Law and the Fourteenth Amendment," *California Law Review*, XXXV (March, 1947), 69.
27. Cal. Stats., 1921, Initiative Act of 1920, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX; Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, 90.
28. Washington, Remington's Revised Statutes (1922), III, 2,929-30. See also Jack D. Freeman, "The Rights of Japanese and Chinese Aliens in Land in Washington," *Washington Law Review*, VI (June, 1931), 127-31 and Joseph Lanza, "Some Effects of the Alien Land Act in Washington," *Washington Law Review*, VIII (January, 1934), 131-36.
29. 263 U.S. 197. The alien land cases are discussed in Thomas Reed Powell, "Alien Land Cases in United States Supreme Court," *California Law Review*, XII (May, 1924), 259-82.
30. 274 F. 841; 274 F. 849.
31. Brief of Appellants, 50-62, 119, *Terrace v. Thompson*, *Records and Briefs*, 263 U.S. 197; Brief of Appellee, 16-66, *ibid.*, 32. 263 U.S. 221.
33. 263 U.S. 225; 279 F. 117; Brief for Appellees, 25, *Records and Briefs*.
34. 263 U.S. 313; 279 F. 117; Brief for Appellants, 46-7; *Webb v. O'Brien*, *Records and Briefs*, 263 U.S., 313.
35. 281 F. 407; 263 U.S. 326.
36. McReynolds, appointed to the Court in 1914, was probably its most conservative member in the 1920s. See Stephen T. Early, "James Clark McReynolds and the Judicial Process" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Virginia, 1954).
37. 268 U.S. 258; 62 Cal. App. 22.
38. 188 Cal. 645.
39. *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1932), IV, 302; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 88; Modell, *Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 104.
40. Masakazu Iwata, "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, XXXVI (January, 1962), 31-2; Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, 18.
41. Miyakawa, review of *Politics of Prejudice*, 108; a similar position is expressed in Olin, "European Immigrant and Oriental Alien," 315.
42. *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, III, 1,172; 273 U.S. 284.
43. This background information comes from the opinion of the Court, 273 U.S. 290-7, and Gavin Daws, *Shoat of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York, 1968), 308-10.
44. 11 F. 2nd. 710; 262 U.S. 390; 268 U.S. 510.
45. Brief of Attorney General of Hawaii, 19, *Farrington v. Tokushige*, *Records and Briefs*, 273 U.S. 284; Brief for Respondents, 3-12.
46. 273 U.S. 299.
47. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, 24-5.
48. The Japanese also won less significant victories in *Asakura v. Seattle*, 265 U.S. 332 (1924), and *Jordan v. Tashiro*, 278 U.S. 123 (1928).
49. This principle was written into the National Origins Act of 1924, which sharply restricted immigration into the United States and which heavily favored immigrants from Northern Europe. Immigration policies in the 1920s are discussed in John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, 1955), ch. 11.
50. See, for example, *Truax v. Corrigan*, 257 U.S. 312 (1921); *Pennsylvania Coal Company v. Mahon*, 260 U.S. 393 (1922); *Wolff Packing Company v. Court of Industrial Relations*, 262 U.S. 522 (1923); *Jay Burns Baking Company v. Bryan*, 264 U.S. 504 (1924); and *Frost and Frost Trucking Company v. Railroad Commission of California*, 271 U.S. 583 (1926). Holmes and Brandeis dissented in *Truax v. Corrigan*, *Jay Burns Baking Company v. Bryan*, *Frost and Frost Trucking Company v. Railroad Commission of California*.

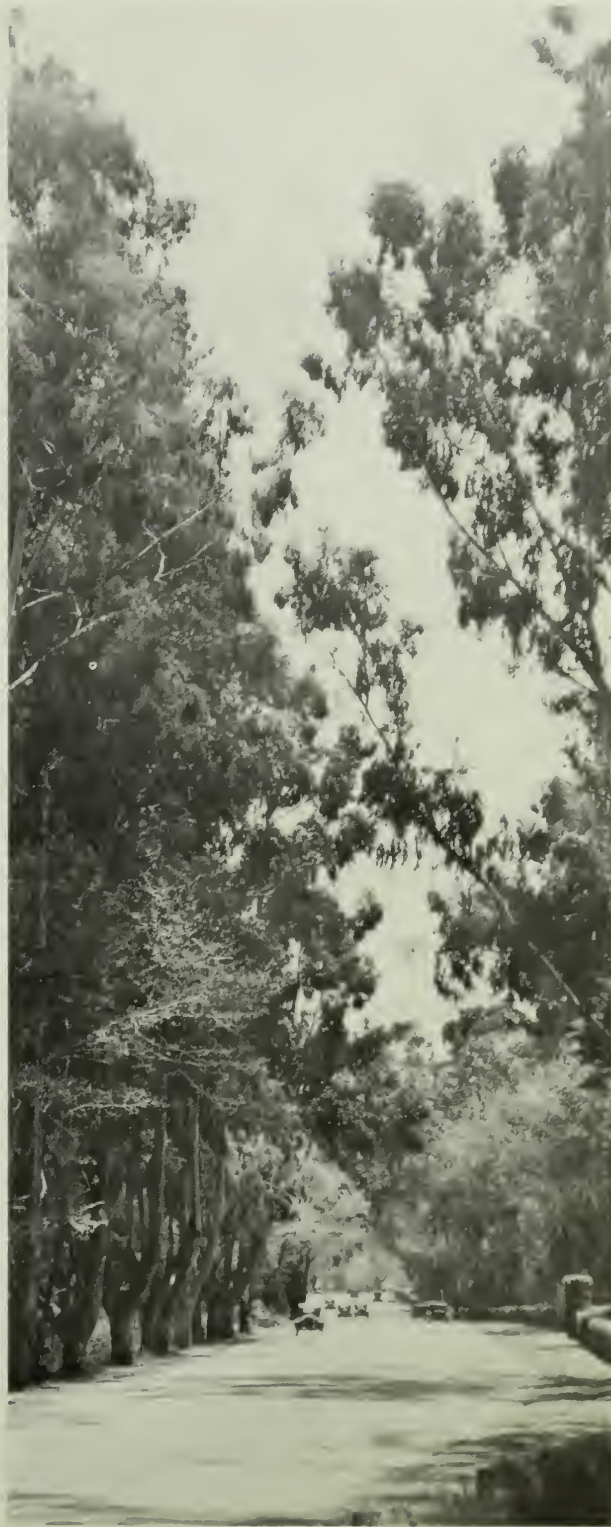
AUSTRALIA GIVES US THE EUCALYPTUS

Raymond W. Thorp

Some accounts suggest that San Francisco missionary William Taylor sent the first Australian eucalyptus seeds to America in 1863, but James D. Hart writes that William C. Walker's Golden Gate Nursery advertised blue gum seedlings as early as 1856, and other San Francisco nurseries soon followed. As the Westways article reprinted here suggests, William Wolfskill was probably the first Southern Californian to introduce the tree south of the Tehachapis.

— Editor

Of all the ancient California *ranchos*, none possesses a history more glamorous than Santa Anita. First founded on a grant to Hugo Reid in the year 1841, this historic parcel was later sold successively to Henry Dalton, William Wolfskill, Harris Newmark, and finally to that inimitable patron of the goddess Fortuna, E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin. Few know that, along with Baldwin's interest in horses, he had a parallel hobby in trees. He loved fine, shapely trees, and this love was shown when he bordered every road within the confines of the rancho with them. The memory of his Midas



touch and gilded fortunes, extravagant display, and desire to venture will all be forgotten in the course of time, but the tall eucalyptus trees which still stand along Huntington Drive and Santa Anita Avenue, as well as countless other places are everlasting monuments to his career.

The Santa Anita Rancho is closely associated with the history of the eucalyptus in America, for many claim that the first seeds imported from Australia were planted in its grounds. This was in 1875, when the ranch consisted of 85,000 acres and was owned by William Wolfskill. This celebrated Westerner planted the trees near his house, and shortly thereafter they were to be found growing over a wide area. In the same year the Forest Grove Association started the first extensive tract of eucalyptus seen in Los Angeles. There was one of these trees at the corner of Olive and Ninth streets which attained a height of 134 feet, and which was blown down during a heavy storm on the night of April 13, 1915.

More extensive research shows that, while these were early specimens, the initial plantings of the first seeds of eucalyptus in California took place long before. The exact dates suggested have been many, each of which has its staunch defenders. It is pretty certain, however, that a few trees were in existence here in 1854.

Mr. Walker, of San Francisco, is reputed to have introduced the eucalyptus to America in 1854, and four years later Stephen Nolan, a pioneer nurseryman of Oakland, commissioned a sea captain sailing for Australian ports to secure additional seeds. These were sown in 1861, and there followed, successively, a host of pioneer eucalyptus devotees, most prominent of which were Elwood Cooper, Abbot Kinney, A. Campbell-Johnson, and Prof. Charles Naudin.

In addition to its many other virtues, the eucalyptus has come into prominence as an agent in the promotion of bodily health among humankind. Previous to

1870 it was known only as a very handsome representative of Australian foliage. Up to that time it had been grown in Italy as an ornamental botanical specimen, but then the Trappist monks at Tre Fontane in the Campagna di Roma learned of its new value in sanitation. According to the records, there was a very serious outbreak of malarial fever, caused from mosquitoes breeding in the swampy lowlands. The monks, who had been experimenting with the eucalyptus since its introduction a few years previous, had discovered a remarkable property in the roots of the tree. Acting as sponges, the roots search for every

It warms our hearths, beautifies our country and cures our sniffles, this valuable import from the remote Antipodes

drop of moisture in the vicinity of the tree. The Trappists therefore reasoned that if the trees were planted in groups along the bodies of the swamps, the latter would be drained by the eucalyptus and dry up, thus excluding the dreaded mosquitoes. Accordingly thereafter for a period of many years, the monks engaged themselves in the task of planting forests of the trees, which, when full grown, realized all their ambitions by converting swamps into healthy, tillable lands.

In Spain, where the eucalyptus had been introduced five years earlier, the same use had been made of the tree before the monks had their inspiration, as is evidenced by their naming it the "fever tree." The medicinal value of the plant is enhanced also by the volatile oil contained in its leaves, now long known to medicine, it being prescribed for use in affections of the nose, mouth and bronchi—a healthful mouth wash—and an internal intestinal anti-fermentative.

However, with this much known, one has just made a beginning in reciting the uses of the eucalyptus, most valuable of all trees. Besides extracting the valuable gum resin from its trunk, tannin from its bark, and oil from its leaves, men value the timber.

Here in California, where the eucalyptus has enjoyed its most prolific growth because of the favorable soil and climate, it has rivalled King Coal as a heating agent in thousands of homes.

There is hardly a person who has traveled up and down California who has not at one time or another wondered at the frequent stands of eucalyptus immediately adjacent to the railroad right-of-ways. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that in the era when these trees were planted, folk were already apprehensive about the depletion of native hardwoods.

During the early 1890's the Pullman Company was engaged in importing from Australia various species of eucalyptus which was utilized in interior furnishings for their luxurious palaces on wheels. The railway companies, however, were very much interested in using the California grown eucalyptus for another purpose, that of making railroad ties.

Owing to dissension or lack of interest after the planting, it was not until 1894 that some hundreds of ties were manufactured from these trees, and laid, green and untreated, in sandy soil between the rails through central Nevada. Subsequent inspection revealed that at the expiration of four years there was no sign of decay, but when three more years had elapsed quite a number of ties had to be replaced. A later inspection in 1907 revealed that there was still a large portion which were sound, but despite this fact, the investigators reported against their further use by stating that they checked badly and failed to hold the spikes properly.

A very noticeable feature of the species grown most extensively in California—where we take pride in more than fifty types—is the constant peeling off of the outer layer of bark. Not all of the one species do this, however, and the differences in the trunk and lower branches have led us to apply the suggestive and popular—the ironic—names, “iron-bark” and “stringy-bark.”

Those who are familiar only with the species now growing in America do not know that in their native land of Australia the eucalyptus has a growth range from the tallest trees on earth to small shrubs covering desert or Alpine regions. There one may see them dotting the countryside in elfin array; at other times, when viewed, say, from a mountainside, their tops appear to be one continuous grass-covered lawn.

Owing to the wide and diversified climatic conditions in which the native species grow, American importers were enabled to designate exactly the sort of country from which they desired their seed obtained. As most importers were from California, naturally they requested that seed be obtained from regions of like or near-like climatic and soil conditions. This in itself made it possible for the pioneers to start their forests without tedious experimenting.

That Southern California, especially, affords the ideal climate and soil for successful growth of many species has long been known. While the smaller varieties may thrive in a somewhat colder region, the larger and more useful and beautiful forms require a warm climate.

In this climate one may almost “watch them grow.” While not always true, nevertheless a twelve-inch perpendicular growth within a month is not unheard-of, and a normal tree under favorable conditions may add to its height twelve or fifteen feet the first year, and thereafter five to eight feet annually.

California Patterns: A Geographical and Historical Atlas.

By David Hornbeck. Design and Cartography by David L. Fuller. (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1983. 117 pp. \$10.95.)

California: The Geography of Diversity.

By Crane S. Miller and Richard S. Hyslop. (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1983. 255 pp. \$16.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Parsons, professor of geography at the University of California, Berkeley.

California must be the original never-never land. The extraordinary complexity of its physical environment and the uniqueness of its settlement history have dazzled the imagination of the world. Yet geographers have shied away from the interpretive analyses of the state that one might have expected, seemingly overwhelmed by this diversity. The simultaneous appearance of these two first-rate texts on California in matching format is thus an event of some moment.

The atlas by David Hornbeck, a California State University, Northridge, geographer, reminds us forcefully of how far good maps can take us towards an understanding of the land and the patterns etched upon it. Its 125 plates, reproduced effectively in varied tones of blue and black, have been prepared with exquisite skill by David L. Fuller in the same Northridge cartography laboratory where much of the work was carried out on the recent *California Water Atlas*. The first section, with concise accompanying text by geomorphologist Phillip Kane, maps the physical elements of the environment—geology and plate tectonics, landforms, soils, weather and climate, streamflow and water supply, vegetation and natural hazards. A somewhat larger number of pages is devoted to Indian and Hispanic patterns of occupancy while the final part covers the American period. A statistical appendix includes detailed climatic data for more than fifty stations.

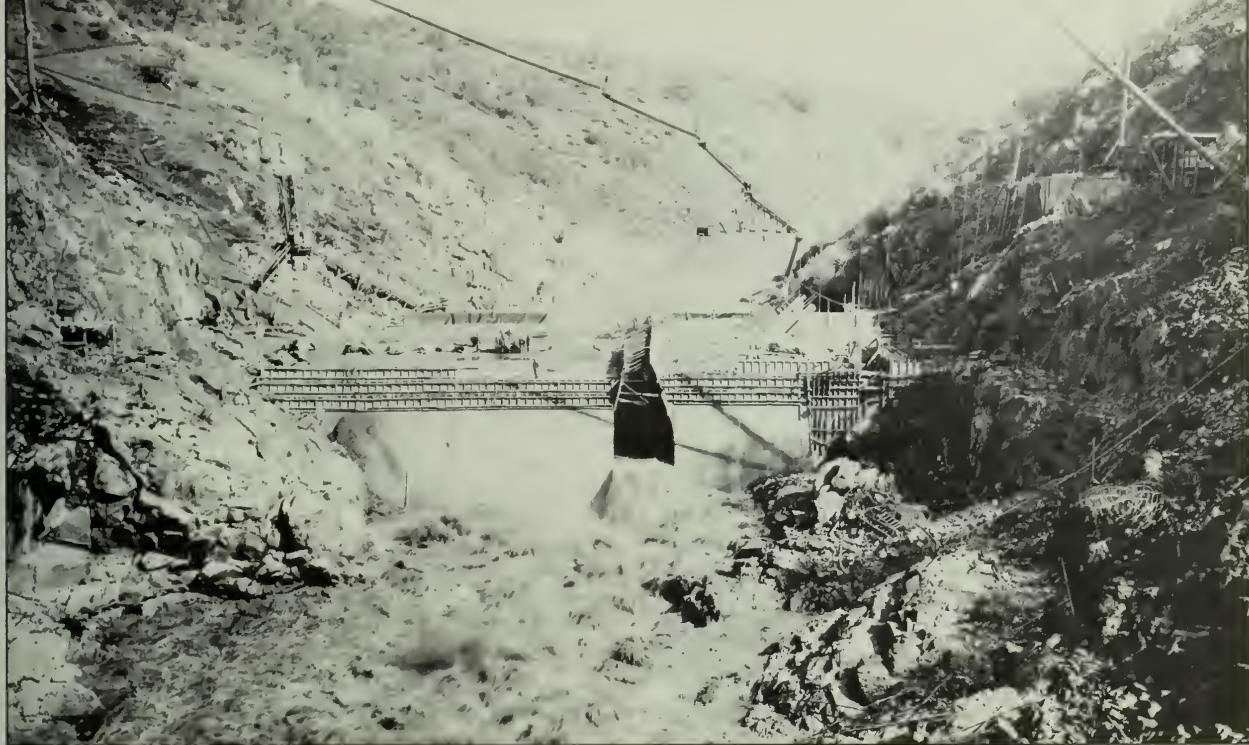
The most explicitly historical parts, the aboriginal and Hispanic patterns, are also the most original. Included are maps of native languages and population densities, Spanish exploration and settlement, the hide and tallow trade,

rancho diseños, crop production, livestock numbers and the population of neophytes and Europeans for each of the twenty-one California missions at different dates.

The coverage of the American period is unfortunately somewhat abbreviated. It, too, has a strong historical flavor with a series of maps showing population distributions, immigration, ethnic patterns, and urban development at different periods. One misses anything on the evolution of county units, on public lands jurisdiction, on energy resources, on the social characteristics of the population, or on voting patterns.

California: The Geography of Diversity, by two professors from California Polytechnic University, Pomona, is a comprehensive, up-to-date primer on the state's environment, its use and its abuse. Organized topically rather than regionally, it focuses on the modification of natural landscapes by human activity. The romantic images that support the "mystique" of California are held up against the stark light of reality. There are chapters on seismic hazards, landform provinces, climate, the state water system, energy resources, and the major vegetation provinces. A particularly good survey of settlement history (historical geography), curiously positioned in mid-text, is followed by others on contemporary culture, on agriculture, and on patterns of urbanizations. All carry a subtle southern bias and perspective. Thus the excellent discussion of energy, as well as that on water ("water sharing"), is focused on Southern California's requirements and alternatives. Ventura County serves as the case study of a representative farming area; the San Fernando earthquake and the "Palm-dale bulge" controversy dominate the discussion of "the unstable landscape." The pages devoted to "cultural oddities" are largely concerned, too, with the Southland. The historic conflicting interests between north and south are not directly confronted.

The authors are clearly sensitive to the problems of continuing population growth and the quickened pace of ecologic change, yet they are prone to characterize "environmentalists" as a special interest group often standing in the way of change or "progress." Despite substantial emphasis on wildlife and geology, neither the quail (the state bird) nor serpentine (the state rock) is mentioned. "Snow-pack" is another term not found in the detailed index. Some readers will be surprised to learn that beavers are "the scourge of irrigated agriculture" or that the trip through the agricultural landscapes of the Central Valley



on I-5 (marked with “the poppy” as a scenic highway) is “a long, boring drive” to many. But despite a few jarring asides, the writing is crisp and clear. Photographs are generously used to illustrate significant points, but their offset reproduction is not always clear.

Taken together, these two works provide an attractive and affordable package that is likely to become standard reading for the many students who each year sign up for courses on California geography, history, or politics. The books should also find their way into public and school libraries, and many private ones as well, as primary reference material. Filling a niche, they bring us a little closer to the California earth.

Stanislaus: The Struggle For a River

By Tim Palmer. (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1982. xiv, 298 pp., eight color plates, forty-five halftones, sources, index. \$19.95.)

Reviewed by W. Turrentine Jackson, Professor of History, University of California, Davis.

“The Central Valley is one of the best likenesses of rural feudalism in America,” asserts Tim Palmer. He sees a wide cultural gulf between Valley people and other Northern Californians, chiefly from the Bay Area.

“One group wears running shoes, thongs, or Birkenstock sandals if they can afford them. The other favors

In 1971, crews leveled Don Pedro Dam near La Grange on the Stanislaus River—shown here in 1922 during construction—so that boats on the reservoir created by a new and larger dam downstream could cross back and forth during low water period. CHS, San Francisco

cowboy boots and ‘Cat’ caps or cowboy hats—Stetsons if they can afford them. One rides bicycles, the other horses. . . . One group is hustled for est; the other for the never-never land by Jehovah’s Witnesses, who make the rounds once a month and canvass the Valley Greyhound stations. One group might include feminists, rock climbers, rock musicians, and Buddhists; the other, John Birchers, rodeo stars, fundamental Baptists, and Mormons.” (p. 31)

A casual examination of this book will cause the potential reader to ask, “Why would the University of California Press place its imprint on such a book that purports to be history?” The reasons are soon apparent. The author is a photographer by profession, and he is an exceptionally careful observer of both the land and the people. He is also an experienced essayist whose captivating style succeeds in making the most technical and statistical evidence interesting reading. His sensitivity in describing the personalities and life-style of the “river people” is superb. They all stand out in bold relief: Mark Dubois, Jerry Meral, Alexander Ganguine, Jennifer Jennings, Patricia “Shortcutt” Schifferle, Mary Regan and a host of associates. Although his sympathies lie with their cause, Palmer handles the personalities and positions of the “dam people” with care

and reasonable objectivity. John Hertle, Cliff Humphrey, and Al Sorrenti receive respectful attention. Only Milton Kramer, the professional campaign manager who handled various political battles for those wishing to construct the dam, receives bitter denunciation. Finally, the research for the study, much of it through oral interviews with the protagonists, has been thorough. The photographic illustrations are first-rate. It is a worthy book.

The crusade to save the Stanislaus as a free-flowing river by halting the construction of the New Melones Dam is widely known to Californians. First waged by a small group of whitewater enthusiasts, the campaigners worked with the nationwide Environmental Defense Fund to test the effectiveness of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968) and the National Environmental Policy Act (1969) in the courts. The effort largely failed, but the State Water Resources Board issued a decision that temporarily saved the canyon. The next step was to qualify a statewide initiative on the issue of halting construction of the New Melones Dam. Nowhere have all the ramifications of that campaign been more clearly presented, including the reasons for its failure. At this juncture the Friends of the River resorted to political maneuvering including lobbying with the governor and in Congress, and securing the introduction of prohibiting legislation in Congress that also failed of enactment. As an act of desperation a few used civil disobedience. When Mark Dubois chained himself along the river near Parrott's Ferry and proclaimed a willingness to drown if the government continued to fill the dam, the controversy over the Stanislaus River received national publicity.

This tremendously sensitive and provocative book that reads almost like a novel makes it exceedingly clear that a major issue in the history of California and the American West is, and will be, water development and conservation. The focal point of the frontier experience in California was land; in the twentieth century it will be water. The legacy of the struggle for the Stanislaus was that conservationists, economists, politicians, and water experts for the state and federal government, young and old, launched a new initiative entitled the Water Conservation and Efficiency Act demanding water conservation, groundwater management, and a limit to the final filling of the New Melones Dam until the need for that water has been proven. The effort failed. The crusade is, and will be, never ending.

All Californians, no matter how divergent their views on this issue, will profit greatly by reading this book. This was the experience of the reviewer.

After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870.

By Ralph Mann. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982. 302 pp. \$25.00.)

Die Goldgräber Kaliforniens: Arbeitsbedingungen, Lebensstandard und Politisches System um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts.

By Norbert Finzsch. (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982. 218 pp. DM 58.00.)

Reviewed by Gunther Barth, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley.

Tackling successfully some of the social and economic complexities of gold mining, both these studies apply social scientific methods to segments of California history clouded by vivid tales and speculation. One book traces the transformation of two mining camps, Nevada City and Grass Valley, into two distinct towns between 1850 and 1870; the other examines a different kind of transformation, namely that of independent gold miners into wage laborers during the 1850s. The findings of one study cast light on the other, indicating the range of the different methods and the usefulness of a joint review.

Ralph Mann extracts data for a computer program from the manuscript census of Nevada City and Grass Valley for 1850, 1860, and 1870. Cross tabulation gives him information on the residents' age, sex, ethnic origin, family size, occupation and wealth for his analysis of their activities and his assessment of their physical and social mobility, spatial and ethnic distribution, as well as racism and work. These figures provide insight into the issue of innovation and continuity, which he uses to explain the appearance of two different towns in 1870, with diverse social structures, shaped by the kind of mining best suited for each locale: Nevada City a placer mining town,

In Grass Valley, the working class neighbor of Nevada City, the populace turned out to search for gold when Main Street was macadamized in 1873. CHS, San Francisco

commercial center, and county seat run by a native middle class, and Grass Valley, an industrial town of Cornish miners working its quartz veins. His approach allows him to relate findings to models of social relations used in other studies of small towns, stressing cultural continuity modified by the local economy, and to place aspects of California history systematically into the large context of United States history.

Norbert Finzsch compares a gold miner's income with the money needed to survive in the 1850s, in order to determine what degree of poverty would induce such a man to consider wage labor as an alternative to starvation. He obtained his sums from references to necessities of life in journals, letters, and account books, checking the list with the secondary literature and caloric requirements. By combining wholesale prices, transport costs, and profit margins, his figures gain the features of a social science model. This is enhanced by his selecting two representative camps, Angels Camp and Placerville, with supply routes relatively easy to trace, and which can therefore facilitate calculations of transport costs. Although he finds disillusioned gold miners available as wage laborers in the 1850s, he concludes that as a class they rose only in the following two decades with the emergence of industrial capitalists. He also suggests, as an answer to the paradox of a rising mining industry without industrial capital, that merchants provided their own money made in trade as credits or indirectly through banks.

The complementary features of both books may be sketched briefly. In the town study, a skillfully argued monograph, the people themselves are rather silent and numbers seem to matter primarily. In the gold miner study, a perceptive discussion of socio-economic theories, people appear in the model through excerpts from their diaries. However, the coming of the Cornish miner, a significant component of the emerging labor force in the hard-rock mining industry, is hardly noted, while it receives full attention in the discussion of Grass Valley's uniqueness. The urban history details family and women's work in the building of communities; the labor history penetrates the working conditions, living standards and political practices of footloose men. In the specific setting of Nevada City and Grass Valley, miners stand as one group against merchants as another, but in the gold fields at large the dependence of the independent miner on the trader is rarely shaken. In the discussion of the towns the



cultural context looms large, in the diggings the economic one. Despite flaws, which may appear in any intricate investigation, both books assess neglected aspects of mining in California.

Like Modern Edens: Winegrowing in Santa Clara Valley and Santa Cruz Mountains, 1798-1981.

By Charles L. Sullivan. Foreword by Leon D. Adams. (Cupertino, Calif.: California History Center, Local History Studies, Volume 28, 1982. ix, 196 pp. \$8.95 paper, \$10.95 hard.)

Reviewed by Charles T. Morrissey, University of Vermont, and author of "Oral History and the California Wine Industry: An Essay Review," published in Agricultural History, July 1977, and reprinted in Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology (American Association for State and Local History, 1983).

Some day I hope to meet Charles L. Sullivan and salute him with a raised glass of wine in honor of this fine book he has written. But I will defer gladly to his recommendation of a wine from the Santa Cruz Mountains as ideal for the toast I propose.

Educated in history at University of California, Berkeley and at San Jose State University, Sullivan became interested in the history of California viticulture while teaching at Leland High School in San Jose. Since 1977 he has published eleven articles about various aspects of winemaking in California's history—a subject he has taught at the California History Center of De Anza College since 1979. Accordingly, this book is the fruitful (pun intended) culmination of a scholarly interest in winegrowing in one region of California that may serve, in upcoming years, as a prototype for similar studies of viticulture in other sections of California.

A thorough researcher in contemporaneous sources dating back to 1851, Sullivan also questions much of the romance and myth-making that permeates the published literature about winemaking in California history. "Much which has passed as California wine history," he asserts in his Preface, "has been written with an eye on its commercial effect." His book is commendably free of "wine flummery," to borrow the title of his 1979 article in *New West* about the misuse of history by some modern wineries.

Unlike other books about California wines, this one does not terminate with the still rising popularity of California labels in the national market but continues beyond this achievement to include the decline of the vineyards in the Santa Clara Valley. In 1863 an observer wrote that "the whole valley of San Jose seems one great garden," adding, "In and around the city are beautiful gardens and vineyards, like modern Edens." Today, however, the Santa Clara Valley is mile after mile of pavement. As Sullivan puts it: "The land today that presents a neat pattern of suburbanization was once a great sea of vines." The wine producers replanted their vines nearby in the Santa Cruz Mountains, and this is why Sullivan must choose a selection from that area for the toast I promise him.

This volume deftly intertwines regional history with developments in other winegrowing areas of California, and also with the national economy and events like the Prohibition Era of 1920–1933. The sixty-one photographs

are not reproduced with the high graphic quality a reader might expect, and a non-resident of the region, like myself, might regret that references to local sites and place-names are furnished as though only occupants of the Santa Clara Valley and the Santa Cruz Mountains will consult this book. The opposite is true: *Like Modern Edens* is a significant contribution to the literature about California wines, and its reputation will likely increase as it ages in the years ahead.

Robert Louis Stevenson in California: A Remarkable Courtship.

By Roy Nickerson. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, The Literary West Series, 1982. 120 pp. \$5.95 paper.)

Reviewed by John E. Jordan, Professor of English, University of California, Berkeley.

Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
And the hunter is home from the hill.

So go the final lines from Robert Louis Stevenson's "Requiem" which, by his wish, mark his grave in Samoa, where he died in 1894 as Tusitala ("Teller of Tales"). But where was "home"? Possibly Stevenson's Calvinistic background read it, "to dust returneth." But this Scot, whose life began in 1850 (the year Wordsworth died and Tennyson became Poet Laureate) was a man of many voices (from the limpid *A Child's Garden of Verses* to the eerie "Thrawn Janet," the blood and thunder *Pavilion on the Links*, and the profound *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*) and of many places: he had significant roots in France, England, Switzerland, and the United States, as well as the South Seas. For a crucial year—August 1879–July 1880—home was California. That year, in which Stevenson literally changed the direction of his life, is the subject of Roy Nickerson's *Robert Louis Stevenson in California*. Stevenson was in California primarily to get married, hence Nickerson's subtitle: "A Remarkable Courtship."

The courtship was remarkable for many reasons. The innamorata, Fanny Van de Grift Osbourne, was a married American woman more than ten years older than Louis; she had a 12-year-old son, a 21-year-old daughter (only eight years younger than Louis), and was trying to decide whether to give up on a woman-chasing husband she had

married when she was seventeen. She and Louis had become friends and probably finally lovers in 1876–78 in France, where Fanny and her daughter had gone to study painting. When, nearly two years later, Fanny, back in California, wrote that she was miserable and ill, RLS took second-class passage and emigrant train (partly to get material for *The Amateur Emigrant*) to her side. Although Stevenson arrived ill himself, and his weak lungs nearly succumbed to the fogs of Monterey, where Fanny was then staying, he survived, at last persuaded her to divorce Sam Osbourne, and recovered his health honeymooning on Mt. Saint Helena.

This story Nickerson tells with loving details. Since it is an *in medias res* story, he begins with background descriptions of the cast of characters to aid the reader. Nickerson is reverential toward scholars—his bibliography contains not his own critical comments but those of Ernest Mehew. His feelings come out, however, on his last page: “Scholars tend to be stuffy.” Nickerson’s approach is not stuffy. He tells us that he “learned the word ‘amanuensis’ from the writings” (p. 83) of Stevenson’s wife and step-daughter, describes his personal disappointment at the “Petrified Forest,” and notes of Stevenson’s visit to the Schramberg Vineyards: “Somewhere I have seen the exact number of varieties RLS had to taste that day; I now forget whether it was 18 or 21” (p. 95). (In his *Silverado Journal* for May 28 Stevenson remarks: “One way or another, I tasted eighteen different liquors yesterday, and my feelings today incline toward the temperance extreme.”) Nickerson’s bibliography does not list James D. Hart’s significant *From Scotland to Silverado*. His index is quite skimpy and leaves out expected items.

A virtue of this pleasantly-written and well-illustrated book is its concern for local interests. It is RLS in *California*, exactly where, what it looked like in 1879–80, whether the buildings still exist, and whether and how the public can see them today. The work is a sort of tour guide to Stevenson’s California itinerary. It ends with enthusiastic support of the theory (which probably goes back to George R. Stewart’s 1926 paper, “The Real Treasure Island”) that Jim Hawkins’ map shows affinities with Point Lobos, and the strong implication that it was the California experience which made Stevenson an important writer.

Filipinos in California: From the Days of the Galleons to the Present.

By Lorraine Jacobs Crouchett. (El Cerrito, CA.: Downey Place Publishing House, 1982. xiii, 154 pp. \$10.95 hard.)

Reviewed by Roger Daniels, Professor of History, University of Cincinnati, and author of Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese Americans and Canadians during World War II (1981), American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice (1970), and numerous other works about the Asian American experience. He is currently finishing a book comparing Chinese American and Japanese American communities.

This slim, well-illustrated volume is a sympathetic account of the tribulations and accomplishments of Filipinos in California. It is narrative rather than analytical. Although it contains some glaring errors—a complete misunderstanding of the naturalization statutes (p. 34) and a garbling of population data (p. 106)—it is an essentially accurate rendering based on selective reading and some interviews. None of the work of Emory Bogardus is cited, H. Brett Melendy is represented only by his 1974 article, and the best work on the anti-Filipino movement is ignored. A series of appendices (pp. 131–45) ranges from the useful—Filipino population by counties, 1970 and 1980—to the irrelevant—an organizational chart of MacArthur’s forces in the Southwest Pacific in 1944.

The approach is almost invariably positive. Sections on the Farmworkers’ struggles stress inter-ethnic cooperation between Filipino Americans and Mexican Americans but ignore their conflicts. No reader of this book would even suspect that significant numbers of Filipinos in California consider themselves refugees from a repressive regime or that many in the ethnic community now prefer to be called “Pilipinos.”

The book is thus in the older, filio-pietistic tradition with a stress on what used to be called immigrant gifts. It will be useful for students, but its deficiencies only underline the need for brief, scholarly, analytical accounts of California’s many ethnic groups.

California Check List

By Bruce L. Johnson,
Library Director

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Adamic, Louis. *Robinson Jeffers: A Portrait*. Covelo, CA: Carolyn and James Robertson, Publishers; Printed at The Yolla Bolly Press, 1983. \$125. Printed in an edition of 280 numbered copies, 260 of which are for sale. Order from: The Yolla Bolly Press; Post Office Box 156; Covelo, CA 95428.

From the publication of his third book, *Tamar and Other Poems*, in 1924, until his death in 1962, Robinson Jeffers' place in American literature as a poet of power and originality has never been endangered. In mid-1928, Louis Adamic and Carey McWilliams, two writers who would make their own indelible marks on literature, went to visit Jeffers at Tor House near Carmel, California, where he and his wife Una had been living since 1916. The meeting affected Adamic deeply. His recorded impressions, first published in 1929 and only once reprinted, constitute what might be the most detailed and vivid description of Jeffers ever written. McWilliams characterized it this way: "as plausible a portrait of Jeffers as I have yet read; indeed by comparison with the bulk of staggering nonsense that has been written about Jeffers, it is conspicuous for its commendable precision of impression and its clear, swift characterization."

This fine press book, published by Carolyn and James Robertson, reprints Adamic's profile along with a reminiscence by Garth Sherwood Jeffers, the poet's surviving son, and a collection of photographs never before published. The physical book that serves as vehicle for Adamic's essay carries on a long California tradition of love for the printed word and the way it is presented that is completely missing from most commercial productions. From the handset Goudy Californian type, the French Rives and Italian Fabriano paper, and the hand-colored title-page initials and section numerals, to the full sewn binding with German bookcloth and pasted labels, the book is a notable example of fine craftsmanship, and a remarkable tribute to both Jeffers and

Adamic, and it does great credit to the publishers and the Yolla Bolly Press.

Cardwell, Kenneth H. *Bernard Maybeck: Artisan, Architect, Artist*. Layton, UT: Gibbs M. Smith, Publisher; Peregrine Smith Books, 1983. \$29.95 (cloth); \$19.95 (paper). Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

In this lavishly illustrated volume, the first in-depth study of one of the greatest American architects, Maybeck and his work are examined in depth. Maybeck practiced from the late nineteenth century through the first quarter of the twentieth, with most of his work being done in Northern California. His architecture was as unique, individual, and unclassifiable as the man himself. He cannot be captured by a particular style or phrase—he ranged freely over the styles and periods, combining elements of twelfth-century gothic architecture with modern steel and concrete if he saw fit. He helped keep alive the spirit of art and life in architecture. Maybeck searched for the spiritual meaning of his craft: "The artist suspects that it is not the object nor the likeness of the object that he is working for, but a particle of life behind the visible. . . . He strives to find the spiritual meaning of things and to transmit the secret to the layman."

This new study by Kenneth Cardwell, who knew Maybeck personally and has studied his work for more than twenty years, also contains an extensive bibliography and a chronological list of the architect's projects and buildings.

Fink, Augusta. *I-Mary: A Biography of Mary Austin*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983. \$17.50. Order from: University of Arizona Press; 1615 East Speedway; Tucson, AZ 85719.

"Before she was six, she knew there were two Marys. There was the lonely child without grace to please and win affection. And there was I-Mary, self-contained and secure, who had no need to be

loved and could not be hurt." This was Mary Austin—feminist, mystic, Southwestern naturalist, and environmentalist, the author of twenty-seven books and more than 250 short works. Conscious throughout her life of the duality of inner nature revealed to her as a child, she sought continually to reconcile her own insecurity with the confidence of her transcendental aspect, I—Mary.

Austin's career carried her from California's Inyo County to Carmel and New York, Santa Fe and Europe. She travelled in circles that included such luminaries as Jack London, H.G. Wells, Lincoln Steffens, and the young Ansel Adams. She became known as a self-assured, even egocentric woman; yet her inner turmoil never ceased. Augusta Fink's biography of Mary Austin, written more than forty years after her death, provides us with the first candid look at this remarkable woman's life. *I—Mary* goes to the root of Austin's creative spirit, and brings us closer to understanding the true meaning of human achievement.

Hine, Robert V. *In the Shadow of Frémont: Edward Kern and the Art of Exploration, 1845–1860*. Second edition. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. \$18.95. Order from: The University of Oklahoma Press; 1005 Asp Avenue; Norman, OK 73019.

First published in 1962 by Yale University Press as *Edward Kern and American Expansion*, this study of a young artist's travels through the American West, his command of Fort Sutter during the war with Mexico, and his later adventures on U.S. Navy expeditions to Japan, Siberia, and the Pacific Islands has become an important component to an understanding of America's drive during the nineteenth century to the Pacific Ocean and beyond. The book details the activities of Edward Meyer Kern, a promising young artist from Philadelphia, who joined explorer John Charles Frémont on his third expedition to the West in 1845. Kern served as the

explorer's artist, topographer, and cartographer. During the expedition, the United States and Mexico were embroiled in a struggle over California. When war broke out, Kern was placed in command at Fort Sutter, but despite the turmoil, he continued to paint remarkable scenes of America's Western territories. Kern later persuaded his brothers, Benjamin and Richard, to join him on Frémont's disastrous fourth expedition to seek a railroad route to the Pacific. While later serving in the U.S. Navy's Ringgold-Rodgers and Brooke expeditions to Japan, Siberia, and various Pacific islands, Kern helped prepare the first accurate charts of sea lanes to China.

Reviews of the first edition described it as "an excellent portrayal of an intriguing character"; the second edition confirms that judgment.

Muir, William K. Jr. *Legislature: California's School for Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983. \$19.00. Order from: University of Chicago Press; 5801 Ellis Avenue; Chicago, IL 60637.

The legislature is essential to democracy. But what is a legislature, and what do legislators do? More importantly, under what circumstances does a legislature make its members competent? In this insightful work, Muir not only explains how a legislature works, but also brings the process to life through his extraordinary gift for describing people and events.

Muir proposes that a good legislature is a good school, educating its members in the science of public policy and the arts of politics. His study is based on the 1975–76 session of the California state legislature, when he interviewed numerous legislators, lobbyists, and aides. He analyzes the means by which the California state legislature improved many of the men and women elected to it—how they came to be more competent, fairer, and wiser as a result of the legislative education provided them. He defines the productive mix of

partisanship and impartiality, collective discipline and personal autonomy, power and constraint that made it possible for California's representatives to enlighten themselves about policy and politics. Despite the distractions of public life, the necessities of reelection, the loss of privacy, and the moral perils of office, most of the members, Muir concludes, were shaped by the legislature into statesmen.

Palmberg, Walter H. *Copper Paladin: A Modoc Tragedy; A Story of the Two Principal Role-Players of the Modoc Indian War of 1872–73*. Bryn Mawr, PA: Dorrance & Co., Inc., 1982. \$12.00. Order from: Dorrance & Co., Inc.; 828 Lancaster Avenue; Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.

Copper Paladin, a re-examination of the infamous Indian war fought along the Oregon-California border in 1872 and '73, attempts to set the record straight concerning the character of Captain Jack, the

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Modoc chief who was hanged in 1873 for the murder of General E. R. S. Canby—the only ranking general of the army to have been slain in an Indian conflict.

The Modoc War was perhaps the most costly Indian war on record when one considers the numbers involved. One thousand outfitted soldiers against fifty-three poorly armed Modoc warriors could not claim a single clear-cut victory. The army suffered 165 casualties to the loss of only five Indians slain in battle. Like the ending of the Nez Perce War, the Modocs simply wore out after six months of fierce defiance. The man who led the Modocs, Captain Jack (Kientpoos), has been cast as a villain, first by white settlers who coveted his lands, and later by white reporters and historians who branded him as a violent savage. Palmberg claims, however, that Captain Jack was an intelligent, fearless, and honorable leader who deserves far better than he has received. Another legendary figure is also brought into question by Palmberg—that of the Modoc Woman Chief Winema, or Tobey Riddle. Although she was praised and honored by historians of the period, to this day the Indians have remained significantly silent about her role. Was Winema the heroine of this dramatic conflict, or a spy and betrayer of her people?

Palmberg's book looks behind the bias of such enduring legends as those of Captain Jack and Winema; it is a rational treatment of an emotional subject and deserves consideration both for its historical contribution and for its appeal to readers in purely human interest terms.

Palmquist, Peter. *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West*. Foreword by Martha A. Sandweiss. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in cooperation with the Amon Carter Museum, 1983. \$50.00. Order from: University of New Mexico Press; Albuquerque, NM 87131.

Watkins was one of the finest photographers of the nineteenth century. Be-

tween 1854 and 1891 he documented the American West from Southern California to British Columbia and inland to Montana, Utah, and Arizona. He was a sympathetic and masterful recorder, whose pictures possess a clarity and strength equal to the magnificence of the land. Indeed, his 1861 photographs of Yosemite so captured the imagination of legislators that Congress moved to preserve the area as a wilderness in 1864. Those early scenes of Yosemite are Watkins's best remembered work, yet they reveal only a fraction of his artistic and technical talent. The full range of his work is represented for the first time in this book; nearly three-fourths of the 112 plates, including a generous selection from the CHS Photographic Archives in San Francisco, have not been published previously. Here are the recognized Yosemite views of the late 1870s and early 1880s as well as industrial photographs and architectural images that establish Watkins's remarkable inventiveness. Included also are images made for courtroom evidence and for business speculators that are fundamental to an understanding of his technical and artistic development. Palmquist's book will be treasured by all enthusiasts of Watkins's work and by anyone interested in the history of photography. Others will find it a compelling account of the professionalism, courage, and drive for excellence of one of the men who helped settle and interpret the American West and California.

Pantoja y Arriaga, Juan and Esteban Jose Martinez. *The Voyage of the Frigate Princesa to Southern California in 1782*. Translated by Geraldine V. Sahyun. Edited by Richard S. Whitehead. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, 1982. \$25.00. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.

This first special publication of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library is the day-by-day record of the frigate *Princesa* sailing from San Blas, Mexico, to San

Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara and San Diego to transport supplies to the four presidios and the first nine missions of Alta California. Other goals of the voyage were to find by sea the newly established Santa Barbara Presidio, to map its nearest ports and to chart the Southern California coastline and the Bay of San Diego.

The book incorporates for the first time the maps of Juan Pantoja y Arriaga, the pilot and expert cartographer on this 1782 expedition, together with explanations of who named the various bays and promontories and when they were named, and the location and names of the various Indian villages found by the expedition. The documents included will provide new insights into the logistics of supplying the early Spanish settlements in Upper California with provisions and armament, and the problems of navigation in those days. The book will appeal to historians, geographers, anthropologists, and Californians generally, but with special interest to those having hobbies in sailing, maps, California history, and the origin of place names.

Rollins, Peter C. (ed.). *Hollywood as Historian: American Film in a Cultural Context*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983. \$26.00 (cloth); \$10.00 (paper). Order from: The University Press of Kentucky; 102 Lafferty Hall; University of Kentucky; Lexington, KY 40506-0024.

Motion picture images have influenced the American mind since the earliest days of film, and many thoughtful people are becoming ever more concerned about that influence, as about the pervasive influence of television. In eras of economic instability and international conflict, the film industry has not hesitated to use motion pictures for definite propaganda purposes. During less troubled times, the American citizen's ability to deal with political and social issues has been enhanced or thwarted by images absorbed in the nation's theaters. *Hollywood as Historian* tracks the interaction of Americans with important

motion picture productions. Considered are such topics as racial and sexual stereotyping, censorship of films, comedy as a tool for social criticism, the influence of great men and their screen images, and the use of film to interpret history. For example, literary and historical influences are carefully related to *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979), two highly tendentious epics of war and cultural change. While pluralism of approach has been encouraged, balance has also been a goal: a concern for institutional and thematic considerations never obscures matters of film aesthetics.

Rusho, W. L. *A Vagabond for Beauty: The Life and Times of Everett Ruess*. Introduction by John Nichols. Afterword by Edward Abbey. Layton, UT: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Peregrine Smith Books, 1983. \$14.95. Order from: Gibbs M.

Smith, Inc.; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

Everett Ruess vanished in November 1934 into the deserts of Utah's Escalante Plain. He was 21, and he never returned. He has since become a folk hero and his disappearance food for romantic speculation. Although his disappearance intrigues us, what is more fascinating is his quicksilver-like appearance. In four short years after leaving home in Los Angeles, 1930-1934, Ruess lived a life with more intensity and experienced more than most of us in an entire lifetime. Befriended by the mighty Edward Weston, who saw in him "great potential," Ruess was offered Weston's garage and used it as home base. He wrote to his father that he never "met anyone whom I could really envy unless it was Edward Weston." Ruess, living in San Francisco in the winter of 1933, decorated

his flat with Navajo saddle blankets, Hopi mementos, and his own art work. He dined and studied painting with Maynard Dixon; attended opera and Berkeley lectures with Dixon's wife, Dorothea Lange, who photographed Ruess. He traded prints with Ansel Adams.

But most remarkable of all, in letters written to his friends and family during his intensive searching, whether riding the waves on the California coast, hiking in the Sierra Nevada, or tramping in his beloved red rock desert of Southern Utah and Northern Arizona, he celebrated and assimilated life. He threw himself with abandon into adventure, caring little about his own safety. He wanted only to absorb beauty with every fiber of his mind and body. His was a quest of the uncommonly spiritual. He called himself a pantheistic hedonist and wrote that "the lone trail is best. I'll never stop wandering. And when

A Note on the Naming of Alcatraz Island

In "We Hold the Rock! The Indian Attempt To Reclaim Alcatraz Island," by Richard DeLuca (Spring 1983), the naming of Alcatraz was attributed directly to the Spanish. How the island received the Spanish designation *Isla de los Alcatrazes*, however, is a curious, and still unsettled, matter. Erwin N. Thompson, in *The Rock: A History of Alcatraz Island, 1847-1972*, recounts the story as follows:

On August 12, 1775, Spanish navigator Juan Manuel de Ayala, the first European to explore San Francisco Bay, "set out in a small boat from his temporary anchorage at Tiburon for nearby Angel Island, which he named *Isla de los Angeles*. Although he found good moorings there, he decided to inspect further before selecting a harbor: 'I rather preferred to pass onward in search of another island, which when I reached it proved so arid and steep there was not even a boat-harbor there; I named the island *de los Alcatrazes* [Island of the Pelicans] because of their being so plentiful there.' "

From this description of the terrain and its existing habitat of pelicans, one could easily assume that Ayala had reached what is today Alcatraz Island. The chart of the bay produced by Ayala's expedition, however, attached the name "*de los Alcatrazes*" (its spelling changed) to what is clearly Yerba Buena Island. There the name remained until 1826, when British Captain Frederick Beechey next surveyed the bay and on his maps, "for whatever reasons" (Thompson), gave each island its present name.

Although numerous sources, including Erwin G. Gudde's *California Place Names*, accept Ayala's chart as indication that he actually visited (and named) Yerba Buena Island, some scholars, such as Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown in *Who Discovered The Golden Gate?*, believe that Ayala's phrase "arid and steep" could only refer to today's Alcatraz and that Beechey did not inadvertently transpose Ayala's names for the two islands.

—Richard DeLuca

the time comes to die, I'll find the wildest, loneliest, most desolate spot there is."

Talbot, Clare Ryan. *Historic California in Bookplates*. 1936; reprinted, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press/Swallow Press, 1983. \$15.95. Order from: Ohio University Press/Swallow Press; Scott Quadrangle 144; Athens, OH 45701.

In a charming style well-suited to her subject, Clare Talbot provides accounts of the origin, creators, and significance of more than 200 personal and institutional bookplates from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century California. Her story ranges from the *marcas de fuego* of the early Franciscans to the stylized plates designed for such public personalities as William Randolph Hearst, Herbert Hoover, and Cecil B. De Mille. Many of the plates celebrate now-familiar aspects of California history—the Pony Express, cable car, and Sutter's Mill. Others are more personal in design: Charlie Chaplin's bookplate contains, in a single image, a miniature biography of the inimitable comedian. In tracing the *ex libris* history of early California, one early reviewer noted *Historic California Bookplates* "does not only deal with bookplates and California; they are landmarks in the culture of the West through which the reader is ably navigated by Clare Ryan Talbot through pages woven with threads of gold of History, Art, Science, Exploration and Adventure; traversing the world to meet in unison at the Golden Gate of California."

Thompson, Gerald. *Edward F. Beale and the American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. \$24.95. Order from: University of New Mexico Press; Albuquerque, NM 87131.

Edward Fitzgerald Beale (1822–93) was like nineteenth-century America itself: energetic, expansive, and confident. This extraordinary man served his country as sailor, soldier, government courier, explorer, and Indian superintendent. Beale shared friendship and adventures with

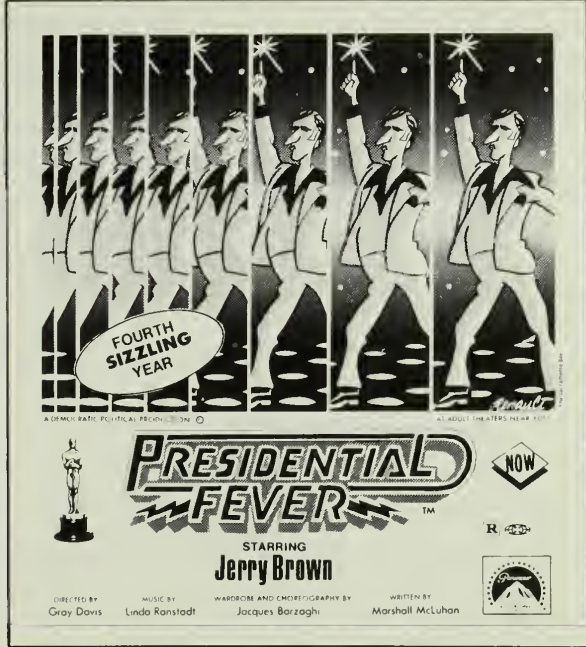
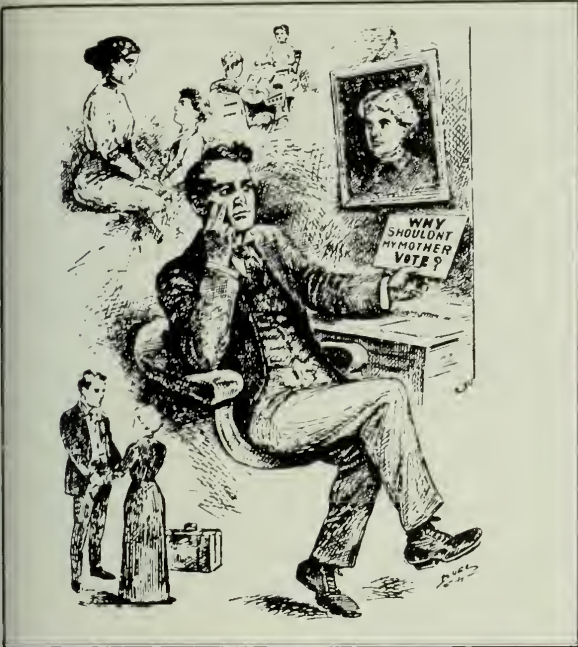
many of the men who shaped the West—including John C. Frémont, Kit Carson, Commodore Robert Stockton, and Ulysses S. Grant. He also acquired one of the largest and most successful ranches in the West, the sprawling Rancho El Tejon in California. Beale's multifaceted, colorful career established him as an important figure in the American scene of the nineteenth century. His accomplishments were so spectacular and so varied that his biography reads like a mini-history of America's westward expansion. He emerged from the Mexican War as the hero of the Battle of San Pasqual, which assured California for the American settlers. He was the first to bring gold samples to the East from California in 1848. As California's first superintendent of Indian affairs, Beale helped initiate a humanitarian policy toward Native Americans. Between 1857 and 1859, he supervised the construction of a transcontinental wagon road and experimented with the use of camels in the Southwest. President Lincoln appointed him surveyor general of California, and, toward the end of his already distinguished career, President Grant named him ambassador to Austria-Hungary.

Gerald Thompson recreates here in fascinating detail the exciting life of this major figure in the history of the West. Numerous illustrations, including previously unpublished photographs by Carleton E. Watkins, complement the engaging text.

Woodbridge, Sally B. and John M. *Architecture San Francisco: The Guide*. San Francisco: 101 Productions, 1982. \$10.95 (paper). Order from: 101 Productions, 834 Mission Street; San Francisco, CA 94103.

Although a relatively young city, San Francisco boasts a rich and varied architectural heritage that now has been sorted out and described in a comprehensive guide. Published in conjunction with the San Francisco Chapter of the American Institute of Architects to commemorate its centennial celebration, *Architecture San Francisco* will be of both general and professional interest because of its descriptions of more than 1,000 buildings and photographs of more than 200. San Francisco's architectural evolution is followed from the Gothic Revival period of the 1850s, through the various Victorian styles, the Classic Revival and influence of the Chicago School at the turn of the century, the Mediterranean Revival, Art Nouveau and Art Deco style, and the Bay Tradition of today. The book is divided into eighteen geographical sections, prefaced with maps showing the location of buildings and a short history of the area. Each entry is also provided with individual architectural/historical descriptions. An index of more than 200 architects and builders is also provided. The development of San Francisco's man-made landscape is traced in a Glossary of Styles that includes both definitions and photographs of each style.

The original photograph of the LaVerne Solar Heater house, which appeared on the cover of the Spring 1983 issue of *California History*, is held by the Pomona Public Library. The glass plate negative is part of a collection of approximately 60,000 negatives taken by photographers Burton Frasher and Burton Frasher, Jr., between 1915 and the 1940s in connection with their post card business.



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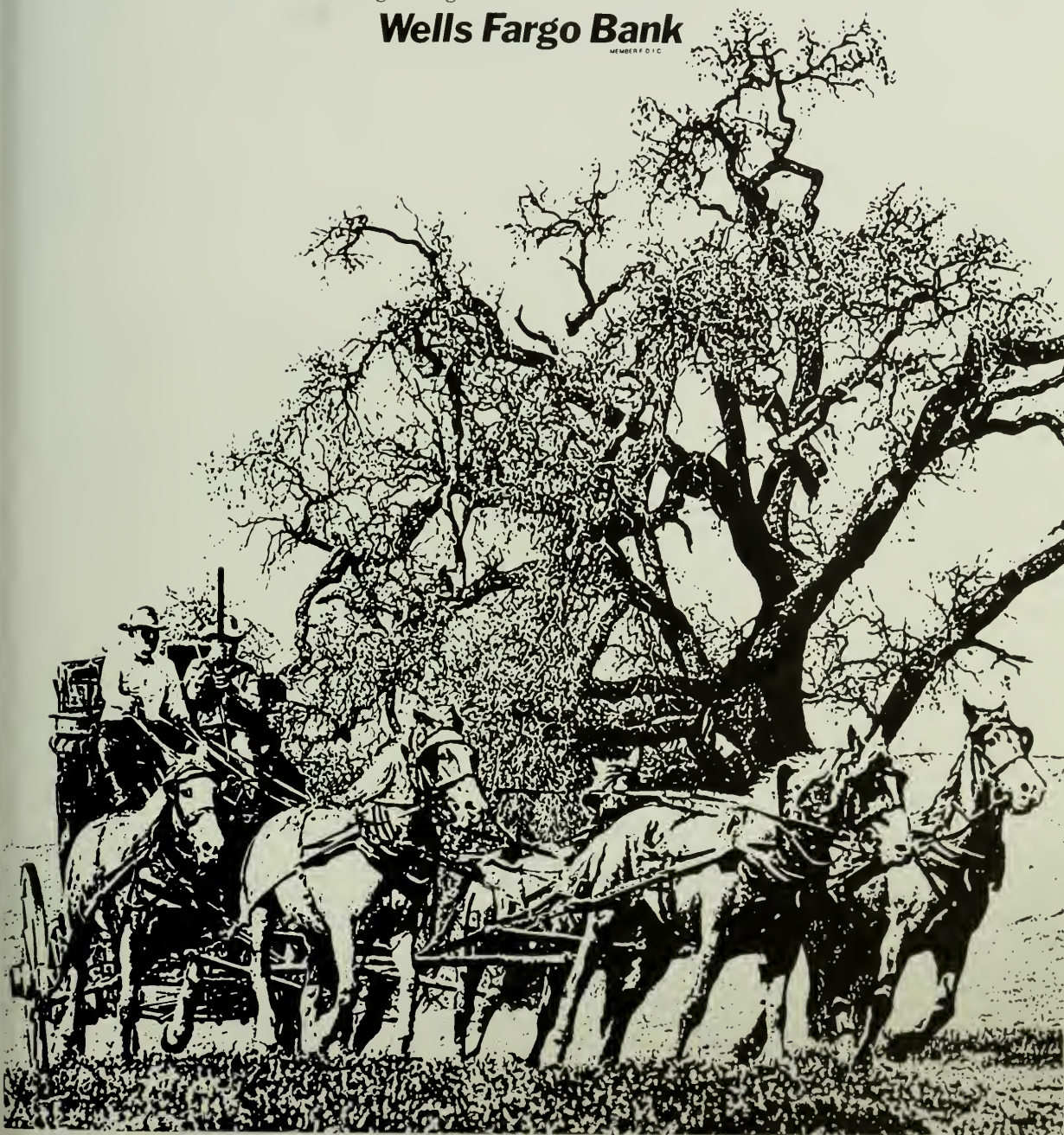
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The Magazine of the California Historical Society

JAN 1 1984



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 WHERE THE BRAKE FERN GROWS—L.A.'S ELYSIAN PARK



California Snapshots



The scratch of fat-lead pencils is almost audible in this 1890s photograph of first graders at San Francisco's Columbia Grammar School in the Mission District. Classroom discipline problems seem unlikely, although a few curious eyes dared to stray toward the camera recording the afternoon class in penmanship and spelling. *California Historical Society, San Francisco*

COVER: Tomales Bay fisherman-artist Clayton Lewis sends daily envelope paintings illustrating his personal life and adventures to his elderly mother in Washington. This envelope celebrating the holiday season suggests a strong resemblance between Lewis, almost seventy years old, and Father Time. Lewis' vibrant watercolor envelopes are exhibited at CHS headquarters in San Francisco through mid-January 1984.

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WHERE THE BRAKE FERN

by Phyl Dirí

Adjacent to Dodger Stadium and overlooking downtown Los Angeles is a 602-acre artifact of the nineteenth century: Elysian Park. Densely set with eucalyptus, jacarandas, palms, brushland, olives, and deodars, the park is still forest-like despite the ravages of long neglect and a failing irrigation system. The park's plantings, contoured roads, and accessibility to neighboring communities reflect an inheritance from the municipal parks movement of the previous century.

That Los Angeles saw fit to set aside land for a municipal park in 1886 is puzzling.¹ Although Elysian Park was created soon after large municipal parks were initiated in Hartford (1852), Boston (1853), New York (1869), and San Francisco (1855), Los Angeles did not have the same need for public recreation grounds as did other, longer established cities; moreover, Los Angeles' city government was usually hostile to municipal ownership of land.

Prior to 1850, American cities had neither legislation enabling them to dedicate park land for public use nor municipal park or recreation departments to take care of

them. By and large, urban recreation consisted of walking in cemeteries and zoos.² By mid-century, the park advocacy movement brought together the European tradition of public space—the commons and the town square—with the more ancient idea of landscaped gardens. The latter tradition dated from the vineyards and fish ponds of Sumer c. 2340 B.C. and continued through the hanging gardens of Babylon to the private, enclosed gardens adjoining a gentleman's house in eighteenth century Europe. (Socrates reported that Persian kings called their gardens "Paradises.")³

The creation of publicly accessible landscapes within towns was essentially a Victorian idea. Confronted with the rapid urbanization and diminution of countryside brought on by the Industrial Revolution, reformers sought "not to remove the root-cause of the disease [industrialism] itself, but merely to alleviate its symptoms by the insertion of limited green . . . within the framework of . . . street, mill, and factory." By the mid-nineteenth century, Frederick Law Olmsted, whose landscape designs included Manhattan's Central Park, celebrated the "dem-



City-laid trolley lines along North Broadway encouraged development in the "suburbs" around Elysian Park in 1905. Angelino Heights is now on the edge of downtown Los Angeles. CHS/Title Insurance and Trust Collection

& WILLOW FIND A HOME



when urban growth was sprawling across the New England countryside, Transcendentalist philosopher Henry David Thoreau articulated man's natural longing for nature and wildness: "We must go out and re-ally ourselves with nature every day We must make root, send out some little fibre at least, every winter day." Landscape architect and conservationist Olmsted shared a similar intellectual search for a sense of wilderness, "turning to nature for inspiration as an earlier era had turned to religion."⁵

Los Angeles Park Superintendent Garey revealed shadings of a related civic sensibility conditioned by Romantic naturalism and Transcendentalism when he wrote late in the century:

The possibilities that lie in the natural advantages of Elysian Park are almost beyond comprehension. The adaptation of various soils to the many classes of trees, shrubs and plants is practically unlimited, and by exercising care in the selection of location there can be no conjecture as to the results. Within the boundary of Elysian Park we have the heavy adobe, adapted to growth requiring rich and strong soil; the sandy alluvial, on which palms and conifers thrive best; the rocky hillsides, rich in warmth and wood-producing ele-

ments, suitable to the requirements of the blue gum (eucalyptus); the deep gulches and canyons into which the sun seldom penetrates, where the brake fern and willow find a home.⁶

Park Superintendent Garey's comments notwithstanding, the successful grafting of largely Atlantic Coast ideas onto the native Los Angeles land-use ethic was a difficult one marked by repeated rejections and partial successes. Although the Southwest had inherited Spanish traditions of public land, these traditions did not encompass the cultivation of nature for public enjoyment. Moreover, Spanish and Mexican land-use practices were effectively obliterated after the Yankee conquest.

At first, Spanish and Mexican property laws and practices prevailed in Southern California. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a grantee applied to the *alcalde* of Los Angeles who then rode to the site and measured the tract. The survey, if it could be called that, was begun by throwing up a pile of stones or earth and planting a cross. No compass directions were noted, and the boundary line was run by sighting to some

ocratic development of the highest significance" in the intertwining of the two traditions of public open space and landscaped gardens.⁴

The nature ethic implicit in the municipal parks movement in the United States can be traced to the philosophy of Transcendentalism, popular at mid-century. Transcendentalists believed that man's essential unity with God was reflected in his relation to the natural world around him. Writing at a time

Americans were repulsed by a bare and barren hillside left in a state of nature.

natural landmark. (This loose and indefinite method of establishing boundary lines opened "a Pandora's box of evils for the unfortunate landowners later on," complained one critic.) Los Angeles' *ayuntamiento*, or city government, not only administered the common and municipal lands (*ejidos* and *propios*) but also regulated private lands to prevent real estate speculation.⁷

Yankee Americans in Los Angeles, on the other hand, believed in and promoted land speculation and objected to governmental restrictions on the exploitation of land for profit. From such a perspective, the more than 17,000 acres inherited in 1850 was a liability, not an asset, in part because it did not create a tax base and in part because Americans were repulsed by a "bare and barren hillside left in a state of nature."⁸

As historian Charles F. Lummis lamented in 1909,

As late as 1856 the city owned eighty per cent of its area of some 17,000 acres. It gave this priceless heritage away—generally for nothing, and altogether for next to nothing, without even once getting an equivalent or a good bargain. It impoverished the future in revenues, and often the vital necessities. We would have the finest parks in the world, and the finest schools, and the finest public buildings—and all endowed beyond

the dreams of avarice. As it is, nothing was left the city but the Plaza and some river bed when we began to take notice.⁹

In part, Los Angeles' cavalier attitude toward its public land and general lack of concern for park land reflected the ready accessibility of open land. Whereas eastern cities were cramped and restricting, Los Angeles was largely free from the confinement of tenements and factories. In 1860, Los Angeles was only "a town of crooked, ungraded, unpaved streets; low, lean, rickety adobe houses with flat asphaltum roofs."¹⁰ Although the city grew five-fold in twenty years, it remained semi-agricultural. Between 1880 to 1890 the *Southern California Horticulturist* magazine published not one letter or article urging the creation of public parks. Instead, the magazine reflected an imagery of an eternal urban arcadia: orchards in Glendale and Pomona, bougainvillea and lemon trees in every backyard, hunting expeditions into the Arroyo Seco (now part of the Pasadena Freeway).

Neither the *Los Angeles Times* nor the *Los Angeles Herald* contains accounts of the city council debate over creation of Elysian Park, although the papers regularly reported on other city council discussions. A single oblique reference to the park's beginnings appears in an 1886 tourist guide:

Citizens are at length fully alive to the advisability of improving the condition of the city's lungs. Mention has been made of the extensive tract lying in the northwestern part of Los Angeles which the City Council with great wisdom had dedicated to public uses as a park. The tract has a pleasing diversity of surface, and it will not be long before the landscape gardener's art of concealing art will produce a resort such as any city in the land might be proud."¹¹

Later, park chroniclers suggested the real reason for the park's existence was that the Red Rock Quarry Hills, where the park was created, was "considered worthless, and councilmen could find no way of getting rid of it in a profitable manner, so in 1886 they proposed that it be set aside as a public park."¹² This explanation fails to address the question of why the council did not just leave the land in the public domain until such time as it could be sold. Either there was a significant constituency for park development, or the city council had sound business reasons for establishing Elysian Park.

If there were groups lobbying for the creation of city parks, they were remarkably unsuccessful; all of Los Angeles' early parks came to the city either by donation (Griffith Park) or default (for instance, MacArthur Park).¹³ An article touching on Elysian Park in the South-

ern California booster magazine, *Land of Sunshine*, suggests that no significant constituency existed for the site. The article further expressed concern about city and public neglect of Los Angeles' reluctantly acquired treasure:

The park is situated about one mile north of the center of the city and is bordered by the Los Angeles River on the east. Even by our own citizens it is little known and appreciated, except by a few at a distance, who are taken to visit this park, see its natural beauties, and express astonishment that it is so much neglected . . .

Sensing the opportunity presented by this lack of public awareness, the editor urged:

(But) . . . by purchasing or condemning certain tracts that should at once be secured by these means, an increase of 500 acres more could be added to the park at a small expense to the city, and then we shall have a place of recreation for our citizens and visitors where they can roam through forest and dale and enjoy the ever changing views, the shady walks, the hidden nooks, and the curious tree and plant growth, so delightful to the lover of nature.¹⁴

Editor Charles Fletcher Lummis' ideas went largely unheeded, however, and a more likely explanation for the park's creation can be found in Los Angeles' boom and bust growth in the last quarter of the century, the sub-division of areas adjacent to the park, and the involvement of two of the city's mayors. During the seventies and



By 1915, the eucalyptus trees along this path near the North Broadway entrance, planted to encourage nearby real estate sales, had grown to significant heights. *CHS/Title Insurance and Trust Collection*

eighties, economic bust followed economic boom and, as Carey McWilliams observed, "property became a drug on the market." Speculators who purchased land for sale to "eastern dupes," expected to be arriving in Los Angeles by the thousands on the Southern Pacific Railroad's new transcontinental link, were sorely disappointed. "The dupes did not come in great numbers, and the visitors who came refused to be duped," observed McWilliams. Then the real estate craze began to subside. By the late eighties the outlook was gloomy, and the contraction in land values was even more rapid than had been the expansion.¹⁵

Unlike the Boomers, "most of who were inexperienced and without much responsibility," Los Angeles' city council and mayors were

businessmen, the elite of the city, and interested in steady growth rather than in rampant economic swings. Mayor Cameron Erskin Thom, who passed the Elysian Park enabling ordinance in 1883, had invested heavily in real estate in Glendale and other outlying areas, but also in manufacturing within the city's borders. His successor, E. F. Spence, made real estate investments in Whittier and was president of six banks. To both men, the creation of a park near downtown Los Angeles could well have represented an opportunity to enhance the attractiveness of the city for investment rather than for speculation. After all, promotional literature being ground out at city hall in this period routinely (if hyperbolically) praised aspects of the city ranging from its "magnificent" courthouse to its public library

Urban recreation consisted of walking in cemeteries and zoos.

which "excites the envy and surprise of other cities."¹⁶

By the 1880s, most businessmen even in Los Angeles had come to realize that city parks increased the values of the land surrounding them. According to a pamphlet signed by many eminent bankers and businessmen in New York in 1884, the increase in land values adjoining Central Park in New York was sufficient not only to offset the entire cost of constructing the park, its land, and interest on the capital involved, but also to bring to the city tax dollars of nearly half this sum annually.¹⁷ It is unlikely that Los Angeles' dollar-minded council would have overlooked the investment value of Elysian Park, however far in the future it would be before the city could cash in.

Later development of the park supports the hypothesis that the city decided to use this rocky and craggy "refuse" land to bring investment to the city. "The motivating force," argued one park historian, "behind the planting [of 50,000 eucalyptus saplings on the hills] . . . was to sell real estate by proving the bare hills and plains around it could be turned into gardens."¹⁸

While most of the town-building that had gone on before the park was created in 1886 occurred in outlying areas, the late 1880s brought subdivision and

construction of upper-class homes in areas surrounding the park: Elysian Heights (1886), Angelino Heights (1887), and Echo Park (1891). The hills above Sunset Boulevard were platted by the 1890s and developed in 1905 with heavy city subsidies, and Sunset Boulevard and California Street (now the Hollywood Freeway) were improved to serve Echo Park and Angelino Heights. The Temple Street Cable Railway came to service Angelino Heights, as did an Angelino and Crown Hill trolley line, and the horse-drawn Elysian Park Street Railway operated along Echo Park from Sunset to Elysian Heights. At the height of the speculative frenzy of 1887, the area surrounding Elysian Park was built for upper middle-class families who were listed year after year in the Blue Book of Southern California's social life.¹⁹

Surveying the city's vascillating attitude toward Elysian Park, *Los Angeles Times* writer Jack Smith has observed, "Our mayors and city councilmen have at times supported and nurtured it, and at other times not only turned their backs but actually involved themselves in schemes to wound if not to destroy the park." Thus, in spite of voluntary subscriptions to improve Elysian Park, Henry Hazard, the first mayor to urge development of park trails and access roads, had

difficulty securing funds for the project from the city council, even though it was already "quite the thing to go there for a picnic, and people dotted its slopes every Sunday afternoon. The dark dots were the boys in their Sunday blue serge suits and the white dots the girls in their shirtwaists and starched white duck skirts."²⁰

Continuing its tradition of ambivalence about the park, the city rejected a \$100,000 bond issue for its improvement in 1896, but Judge Charles Silent and Herman W. Frank, president of Harris and Frank, devised a plan by which unemployed men could be retained, under a subscription provided by Los Angeles' Manufacturers Association, to construct the Fremont Gate entrance to Elysian Park.²¹

As the years passed, repair of the park was equally haphazard and usually limited to make-work efforts generated during years of economic depression. In 1896, 1911, and 1931, the city employed men to plant trees, build trails, and install water systems.²² In 1909 the Municipal Art Commission retained Charles Mulford Robinson, a nationally known city planner and proponent of the City Beautiful movement for improving the appearance of America's cities, to design future development in Los



A horse and buggy cross the chaparral of Elysian Park where winding roads, laid in 1896 by Mayor Hazzard, offered escape from the noise of the developing city. *CHS/Title Insurance and Trust Collection*

By 1928, when this view from Elysian Park of the Lincoln Heights neighborhood was taken, Los Angeles had a strong urban character—small houses, palm trees, and less open space. *CHS/Title Insurance and Trust Collection*

Angeles. Addressing the question of Elysian Park, Robinson urged:

The construction of good approaches to Elysian Park will very greatly increase the park's popularity and usefulness; but such change is even more needed along purely democratic lines. The park should be, as in fact it is, the one great People's Park of Los Angeles,

and should be utilized and enjoyed to the full. It ought to be the popular place for picnics. Once the people learn to go there, to feel its intimate association with their own lives, there will be no difficulty about securing large appropriations for its development and care But people never will use Elysian Park in this way until it is made accessible for them, and to this end I

strongly favor the admission of a car line²³

Although many of Robinson's designs, such as that of the city's main library, eventually bore fruit, his vision of increased democratization of Elysian Park was never realized, and no car line was ever

Repair of the park was haphazard and usually limited to make-work efforts during years of economic depression.

built into the park.

In the next decades, as high society moved out of the surrounding area and the poor moved in, the park fell under increasing attack. The "privately-owned hill" jutting into the western edge of the park that Robinson recommended for purchase was instead bulldozed to make way for Dodger Stadium in the late 1950s. In 1962-1963, a six-lane highway was cut through the park's most popular valley to provide access to the stadium.²⁴ After the police training range was located in the park, the voters approved a proposition in 1972 giving the city's police department permanent use of that piece of the park. A proposed bond issue to bring water to its dying trees was also defeated in the early 1970s.

The Citizens Committee to Save Elysian Park, organized in 1965, succeeded in defeating proposed measures to build a 63-acre convention center for visiting businessmen, to lease a 77-acre area for oil drilling, and to build a STOL (Short-Take Off and Landing) jetport, a freeway, and a highway through the grounds.²⁵ Since then, the war against the park subsided. In 1981 Mayor Bradley assured the citizens committee that he would stand by the clause in the city charter reading, "All land heretofore or hereafter set apart or dedi-

cated as a public park shall forever remain to the use of the public inviolate."²⁶ Neglect of the park, however, continues, and a few years ago, 300 acres burned, in part because of inadequate fire protection under post-Proposition 13 austerity.

A remarkable thing about Elysian Park is that it stands as a testament to the aesthetic and political values of other times. Its hills were discovered by Portolá and his men; the home of the Yang-Na were once covered with wild grapes, well-grown cottonwoods, alders and "an infinity of roses in full bloom."²⁷ Antelopes grazed on the grassy banks of the nearby River Porciuncula. Later the Spaniards burned off the oak and chaparral cover to clear sheep pasture, leaving the hills bare.²⁸ Then the Americans planted drought-resistant eucalyptus, in the hope of selling nearby real estate. Volunteers from Los Angeles' Horticultural Society introduced rare plants on the park's hillsides until the 1920s, transplanting some of the latter-day Victorian landscape aesthetic to Southern California. The city, for its part, reserved the land for public use, then neglected it, and finally tried to change its function, apparently to satisfy the imperatives of business interests in downtown Los Angeles. Today, Elysian Park remains a peculiar amalgam of an

aesthetic of naturalism and an ideal of laissez-faire enterprise. □

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Notes

1. The city council passed the ordinance permitting the dedication in August 1883.
2. George F. Chadwick, *The Park and the Town* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966), p. 181; Charles E. Doell and Gerald B. Fitzgerald, *A Brief History of Parks and Recreation in the United States* (Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1954), p. 1.
3. Doell and Fitzgerald, p. 12.
4. Chadwick, p. 19; Albert Fein, "The American City: The Ideal and the Real," *The Rise of American Architecture* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 85.
5. Fein, p. 54; Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1979), p. 78; Guilius G. Fabos, Gordon T. Milde, and Michael V. Weinmayr, *Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.* (Massachusetts: 1968), p. 12.
6. "Municipal News," *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1896, p. 8.
7. J. M. Guinn, *Los Angeles and Environs*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1915), p. 284; Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 179.
8. Fogelson, p. 25; Howard J. Nelson, "The Spread of an Artificial Landscape over Southern California," in *Los Angeles Metropolis*, unpublished paper for Geography 156, Department of Architecture and Urban Planning, UCLA (Los Angeles: 1974), p. 18; John D. Weaver, *El Pueblo Grande* (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1973), p. 47. See also Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (Boston: Mifflin & Co., 1911). When Dana saw Los



The wilderness quality of Elysian Park, evident in this scene at the natural rock bridge, reflected a combination of early plantings by private groups and civic neglect. CHS/Title Insurance and Trust Collection

- Angeles for the first time he exclaimed, "In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this would be!" pp. 115-20, 477, 479.
9. Charles F. Lummis, *Los Angeles and Her Makers* (Los Angeles: Out West Magazine Co., 1909), pp. 244-245.
 10. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1979), p. 117.
 11. George Butler Griffin, *Pocket Guide of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1886), p. 29.
 12. Dana R. Tyson, "History of Elysian Park," *L.A. Employee Magazine*, December 1931; Weaver, p. 48; Guinn, p. 356; Margaret Mackey, *Going Places in and Near Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Press, 1940), pp. 13-14.
 13. Mary Katherine Gibson, "The Changing Conception of the Urban Park in America: The City of Los Angeles as a Case Study," unpublished Master's thesis (Department of Urban Planning, UCLA), p. 10.
 14. "The Parks of Los Angeles," *Land of Sunshine*, October 1894, no pagination.
 15. McWilliams, p. 117; J. M. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record of Southern California*, (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1902), vol. I, pp. 141-143.
 16. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1916), pp. 569-583.
 17. Chadwick, pp. 188-190.
 18. Tyson, December 1931. Also, interview with Mrs. Grace Simons of Citizens Committee to Save Elysian Park, December 1980.
 19. Lynn Stewart, "History: Silver Lake-Echo Park Plan Area," California Room, Los Angeles Public Library, File California VF; Jack Smith, *The Big Orange* (Pasadena: Ward Ritchie Press, 1976), p. 51.
 20. Smith, p. 100; *Land of Sunshine*, October, 1894, n.p.; *Los Angeles Times*, March 7, 1937, p. 6; Mayor Hazard is often mistakenly said to be the mayor under whom the park was created. See, for example, Henry W. Spheter, "Los Angeles Recreation, 1846-1900," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 44 (June 1961): 19.
 21. Guinn, II: 748.
 22. Tyson, December 1931.
 23. Charles Mulford Robinson, *Los Angeles California: The City Beautiful*, Report to Municipal Art Commission, Los Angeles, 1909, no pagination.
 24. Smith, p. 101.
 25. "Some High Points in the History of the Citizens Committee to Save Elysian Park" (1672 Morton Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90026).
 26. Smith, p. 99; interview with Mrs. Grace Simons, January 1981.
 27. Leo Politi, *Tales of the Los Angeles Parks* (Palm Desert: Best West publications, 1966), no pagination.
 28. "The Forgotten Forest Retreat Right in Central L.A." *Sunset*, September 1965, pp. 86-91.

Ygnacio Pedro Villegas' account of a wild horse roundup or rodeo conveys the excitement the youthful vaquero experienced on that cross-country chase. The story also offers an insider's look at a classic but rarely described California event.

"Roundup" is excerpted from Villegas' 1895 recounting of growing up in the remote San Juan Bautista-Soledad area. Published by the California Historical Society this fall, Boyhood Days: Ygnacio Villegas' Reminiscences of California in the 1850s is edited with an introduction by CHS President Emeritus Albert Shumate, M.D.

In 1851 some fur hunters stopped with us at San Felipe and told my father of the large bands of wild horses in the San Joaquin Valley. There were a few bands on the Salinas plains, but they were hard to get at because of the willows and underbrush along the banks of the river, and also the sloughs. During dry years these wild horses were killed by the owners of the *ranchos* in order to save feed for the cattle.

The wild horses were usually small, but tough and wiry, and made good horses for certain kinds of work with a saddle. They generally traveled in bands of from thirty to fifty, led by a stallion.

These fur hunters said there were some extra fine bands of horses between the foot of the Cascade Mountains [*Villegas means the Coast Range*] and the San Joaquin River which were worth going after. Several of the Indians working for my father said they had heard the same thing for years but were afraid to go because the Tulare Indians would rob them. So several expeditions were made up to catch the wild horses, not for the purpose of killing them, but to capture them and bring them back to the home *ranchos* to cross with the *rancho* stock, thus improving it. Some of these expeditions went as far as what is now Visalia.

It was my good fortune to be taken on one of the wild horse expeditions in 1852. We traveled for several days until we came to the San Joaquin River, where we made camp and killed some elk and antelope, which were running over the plains by the thousands. Some of our best *vaqueros* [cowboys] went out scouting each day until they located the bands of wild horses. We made camp as near them as possible, and then rested our horses for a day, to get



Edward Borein's "The Bell Mare" (etching and drypoint)

them in condition for the hard work on the morrow.

The next morning we started out, keeping as far away from the wild horses as possible so as not to frighten them. After deciding on the way in which the animals were to be driven, men were stationed every two or three miles for a space of some twenty miles. At a given time two men started after the wild horses as fast as their mounts could carry them, heading them in the desired direction. This is called *aven-tada* in Spanish. It was an exciting moment for me, and a scene hard for a pen to describe. A picture by a

ROUND-UP

by Ignacio Pedro Villegas



master hand is the only medium for a true portraiture of such a scene. The wild horses were scattered in bands over the open valley, feeding on the grass, which was very abundant. To the west the Cascade Mountains [Coast Range] loomed against the sky; to the east the tops of trees ringing the margin of the San Joaquin River were just visible. Overhead a cloudless sky, and in the distance an occasional mirage. Elk and antelope dot the valley. Then suddenly, as if by a given signal, the stallions appear out of the band of horses, which quickly huddle together and stand immovable, with nostrils distended and heads and tails erect. Then, quickly turning, each stallion circles his

individual band, and coming up takes one more look, and with a snort the entire band start galloping over the plains. The *vaquero* in charge has picked out a band with a grey stallion in charge. A wild, mad race it was, over treacherous ground full of squirrel holes. The wild horses, however, get more and more bewildered as we dash after them, especially when the horsemen previously stationed spring up on either side, urging the animals to increased speed with their shouts.

Even on the ground covered with grass, a huge cloud of dust envelops everything, and nothing is heard but the thundering band ahead. This kept up for two or three hours, when the horsemen managed to get into the center of the flying herd. When the dust finally cleared, here and there over the plains could be seen colts and young mares, their forelegs tied to prevent them from escaping, which the *vaqueros* had lassoed during the chase.

These runs were kept up until fifty or sixty more head had been captured. In the band that we chased were several American horses that no doubt had escaped from some immigrant train. They were easily discernible because they were so much larger than the native stock. Later in the year we went back after some of the horses, but killed them while lassoing them.

The evening after my first chase we returned to our camp by the river, and in the evening twilight the *vaqueros* recited their experiences of the chase. Some, whose horses had stepped into squirrel holes, causing man and horse to fall and roll over on the ground, had the utmost difficulty in remounting, for the horses in the wild excitement were almost uncontrollable, and many a rider would have been left without a horse miles away from camp if he had not taken the precaution to tie the end of a hair rope to the *bozal*, with the other end tucked away under the rider's belt, so that in falling the rider's end was firmly grasped by him, thus saving himself from a critical position and the horse from starvation, for a horse cannot crop the grass with a Mexican bit on.

One *vaquero* told how he had fallen off his horse and was being dragged along the ground in the dust, and although several wild animals had brushed against him as they plunged about, none had struck him.

The last band of wild horses I saw was in 1856.

A FAIR DEAL WINS— A FOUL DOLE LOSES

by Harold D. Carew

Taking office in March 1933 at the bottom of the worldwide Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt made the seemingly novel proposal for a Civilian Conservation Corps. Its purpose: to employ young jobless men while protecting the nation's natural resources.

Few people remember that California, which carried a heavy burden of the nation's unemployed and transients, experimented with state-sponsored conservation camps as early as 1931. The cost to taxpayers: 55¢ per man per day. The article below, excerpted from *Touring Topics*, November 1933, assesses the brief history of the work camp idea in Europe and California and pronounces the American experiment, only six months old in 1933, an unqualified success.

Is the Civilian Conservation Corps a success? Has its work justified the huge Federal appropriation of \$150,000,000, a substantial part of which is being expended in California? Will its accomplishments be of permanent value both to the State and to the nation?

These are questions which are being asked now that the first enlistments have expired and the Corps is starting on its second six months of activity.

If a mere observer's opinion is of any value, in my humble judgment the material, moral and spiritual benefits resulting from this vast undertaking would be cheap at twice the amount it is costing Uncle Sam.

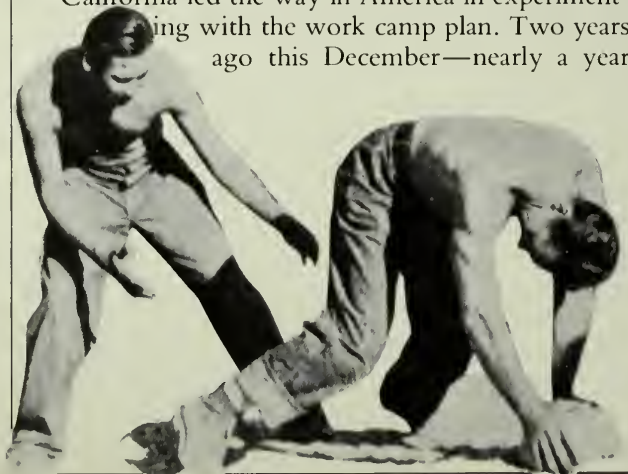
The Civilian Conservation Corps was the government's response to the challenge of a great human need in an hour of economic and social chaos. It matters little what be the cost of such an adventure in social service of this character so long as the people who are paying the bills are aware that the C.C.C. movement is a paying investment for the future of the nation. . . .

"Football practice along hard lines, with a boulder for a pigskin to toss about."

The first work camp was organized in Germany in 1925, at Colburn, Hanover, by the *Altwandervogel*. It was attended by some fifty students for a period of three weeks, and the program consisted of six hours' manual labor in the morning, a rest period of two hours, choral singing in the afternoon, and lectures in the evening. The idea spread, and in 1926 a similar camp was established at Dassel, and another at Loewenberg in 1927. In the latter year laboring and artisan groups were admitted, and with the continued unemployment situation showing no signs of improvement, the work camp plan spread to Holland, Switzerland and finally into Wales.

Until 1931 the German camps were supported entirely by private subscriptions and voluntary contributions, but in that year, the government, having recognized the value of the movement, made an emergency appropriation and authorized the establishment of the *Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst* (Voluntary Work Service) for unemployed men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age. The decree of establishment specified that all work undertaken must be improvement of the public domain.

California led the way in America in experimenting with the work camp plan. Two years ago this December—nearly a year



California led the way in America in experimenting with the work camp plan.

before President Roosevelt made public his plan for employing idle young men in reforestation work—California engaged in a social project that resulted from the problem of caring for a large unemployed transient population. For more than a year prior to December 1931, thousands of indigent persons had been flocking into the State from all sections of the continent in the hope of finding jobs. When the jobs did not materialize, hunger and suffering forced them to apply to public relief agencies for assistance. The problem of aiding these people became so serious, and the demands became so insistent from an ever-lengthening line of applicants that an actual count at the borders was made, and it was found that an average of nearly 1,300 penniless and homeless men were coming into the State daily. Los Angeles County was the destination of most of them, and consequently bore the brunt of the relief demands of these itinerants. With the problem of providing assistance for her own needy and distressed citizens, she was soon hard pressed, but could do little except in emergency cases requiring hospitalization. As these migratory visitors spread out through the other counties in search of work, Southern California soon had a real problem on her hands.

A delegation of Southern California business men and social workers appealed to Governor Rolph, urging that the state bend its efforts to relieve the communities of the burden, and this appeal resulted in the adoption of a plan to put the transients to work building firebreaks, constructing trails, and clearing away brush in the mountains. The workers were housed in camps at a cost to the state of about fifty-five cents a day for each man.

It is probable that while he was Governor of New York, Mr. Roosevelt studied the methods and results of the European work camps, for his program of the Civilian Conservation Corps is similar to the German scheme. That Wise Man of the East, Professor Raymond Moley, recently claimed that the idea was "pec-

uliarly and individually President Roosevelt's own." Such a claim will stand considerable modification; but the credit for starting something nevertheless must be given to the nation's chief executive who knew what he was doing when he sent his message to Congress on March 21, seventeen days after his inauguration, proposing the creation of the C.C.C. and asking for an appropriation of \$150,000,000 "for forestation, prevention of soil erosion, flood prevention, and the construction, maintenance, and repair of roads on the public domain. . . ."

At the time the C.C.C. was being organized, the army and the Forest Service were the only government agencies prepared by training to take hold of a project of such magnitude. Nominally with only two commissioned officers in charge of each unit, the task of organizing the 1460 civilian camps and the 150 forestry camps for Indians enlisted on reservations was carried to completion more rapidly than was the mobilization of the first 300,000 troops for overseas service in 1917.

The Army's part of the job is to put the recruits, whose ages range from eighteen to twenty-five, through a course of physical training to prepare them for work in the forests. . . . Thanks to the Forest Service there was a well devised plan, the result of continuous surveys carried on over a period of years, by which immediate construction could be started on 50,000 miles of horse and truck trails in forests and mountains. When these trails are finally completed, they will connect all the lookout stations in as direct a route as possible, thus making it easier in future to fight forest fires.

Each man works forty hours a week, for which he receives thirty dollars a month in addition to food, shelter, clothing, medical service and hospitalization. The object in enlisting unmarried men was to enable them to assist their families. In many cases this has materially aided unemployed relatives and lifted a heavy burden from local relief agencies. If families do



"Clean-up time in the out-of-doors washroom, when everybody gets busy with soap and water."

not require such assistance, the twenty-five dollars monthly which the recruits agree shall be mailed by the government to fathers or mothers may be kept until the men are finally discharged and returned to their homes.

The Ninth Corps Area, commanded by Brigadier-General Malin Craig of the Presidio at San Francisco, is comprised of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Nevada, and in these five states there are 459 camps with approximately 104,000 men. The Fort MacArthur District, which includes the Angeles and Santa Barbara forests, has twenty-four camps with an average of 200 men in each camp. The camp names and their locations are: Piru Canyon, Castaic; Angeles Crest, near La Cañada; Dalton Canyon, Glendora; Rincon Camp, Azusa; Figueroa Mountain, Los Olivos; Los Prietos, near Santa Barbara; Sisar Canyon, Santa Paula; Monrovia Canyon, Monrovia; Grassy Canyon, San Fernando; Bear Canyon, Warm Springs and Salt Creek, Saugus; Charlton Flats, back of Sierra Madre; Lake Hughes; San Marcos Pass, Santa Barbara; Wheeler Gorge, near Ojai; Pine Canyon, Santa Maria; Big Pine, Santa Barbara; Lower Sespe, Fillmore; Malibu Mountain, Cornell; Earl Canyon, La Cañada; Cobal Canyon, Claremont; and Avanales, Arroyo Grande.

A total of 167 camps have been in operation in California during the past summer; 33 of these, all located at high elevations where the snowfall is heavy, will be closed during the winter, leaving 134 to carry on, according to plans which are, however, subject to change. In Northern California the winter work will

be carried on along the forested edges of the Sierra Nevada and Coast ranges. . . .

All types and all classes of men have found their way into the ranks of the C.C.C.—men who in happier and more fortunate days were printers, clerks, bookkeepers, mechanics, stenographers, gardeners, woodworkers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians; in fact, men in all the trades. There are many university graduates, among them teachers and doctors of philosophy; and I was not at all surprised to find in one camp a writer who has two books to his credit. I say I was not surprised: I marvelled that there were not more of us swinging picks and shovels instead of pounding typewriters.

In restoring morale and giving these young men a sense of security and a feeling that they are really doing work which is profitable to themselves and valuable to the nation, the Civilian Conservation Corps more than justifies the expenditure which is being made by the Federal government. . . .

During the past summer here in the Far West the men of the C.C.C. performed an inestimable service in fighting forest fires. It has been said that without their timely aid the losses in timber lands and watersheds would have trebled, perhaps quadrupled. Would it not be profitable for the counties and states, with the assistance of substantial appropriations from the federal government, to allocate certain funds for continuance of the Civilian Conservation Corps? □

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BLUEPRINT FOR PRESERVATION

A Conservation Program for the Whittier Mansion



he imposing red sandstone Whittier Mansion, since 1956 the headquarters of the California Historical Society (CHS), is one of the few surviving great mansions of nineteenth-century San Francisco and the only one of its era now open to the public. It was designed by California architect Edward R. Swain (1852–1902) to convey an impression of social, financial, and physical permanence.

Unfortunately, permanence and stone construction do not necessarily go hand-in-hand. While the four-story residence at 2090 Jackson Street, built in 1894–96 for capitalist William Franklin Whittier, survived the earthquake and fire of 1906 with only broken chimneys and roof damage, the building's exterior facades of plain-cut and ornamentally carved sandstone have weathered extensively over the intervening decades.

The thirty-room Whittier Mansion, a landmark building listed on the National Register of Historic Places, merits considerable architectural and historical significance in California. Its heavily sculptured walls, corner towers, and Roman-inspired temple front represent a transition between the Richardsonian and Queen Anne styles of the nineteenth century and the Period Revival styles which reigned after the turn of the century. The home's exquisite interior detailing of exotic polished woods, rare marbles, polychromed ceilings, carved panelling, handsome fireplaces, and crystal wall brackets convey the tastes and lifestyle of the

by Stephen J. Farneth AIA



The mansion's exquisite interior detailing—exotic woods, rare marbles, polychromed ceilings, and carved paneling—conveys the tastes and lifestyle of the merchant-prince era.

Completed (and photographed) in 1896, the imposing red sandstone mansion of William Franklin Whittier represents an architectural transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

merchant prince era to thousands of visitors and school children who tour the building each year. Documents explain the history of the state through the life of entrepreneur and civic leader Whittier, whose career ranged from the 1856 Vigilance Committee to agricultural development in Southern California in the 1880s.

Although the building's interior is in excellent condition, the eroded and deteriorated appearance of the exterior facades raised concern for both the structural and aesthetic condition of the building. In 1980, CHS began to develop a long-term maintenance and conservation program. Supported by a grant from the State Office of Historic Preservation and matched by CHS

members, the Society initiated a study to determine the types and causes of the Mansion's exterior deterioration, to assess its structural soundness, to propose and test alternative conservation treatments, and to provide recommendations for stabilization and conservation.

From the beginning, the project was seen as significant because rather than simply prescribing a treatment for the building, the project gave equal importance to the process of analyzing existing conditions, determining the speed the East Coast may also have influentially testing alternative conservation measures on the building. The assembled project team, consisting of the Director and the Properties Director at CHS, stone conservators from the Building Conserva-

tion Technology Center at Columbia University, New York City, and preservation architects, felt that the study could serve as a model for the process of analyzing and solving masonry conservation problems. Also, the team hoped that more specific information about stabilization and conservation methodology for masonry structures could be developed and made available to public and private preservation groups. While the size of the funding grants did not permit actual restoration of the Whittier Mansion, the grants did make it possible to formulate a complete step-by-step plan for careful restoration and the development of model procedures and methods. In collaboration with the National Trust for Historic Preser-



vation, CHS also sponsored well-attended workshops, seminars, and an exhibit that reviewed current practices in conservation of masonry materials, a topic of growing interest in the United States and around the world.

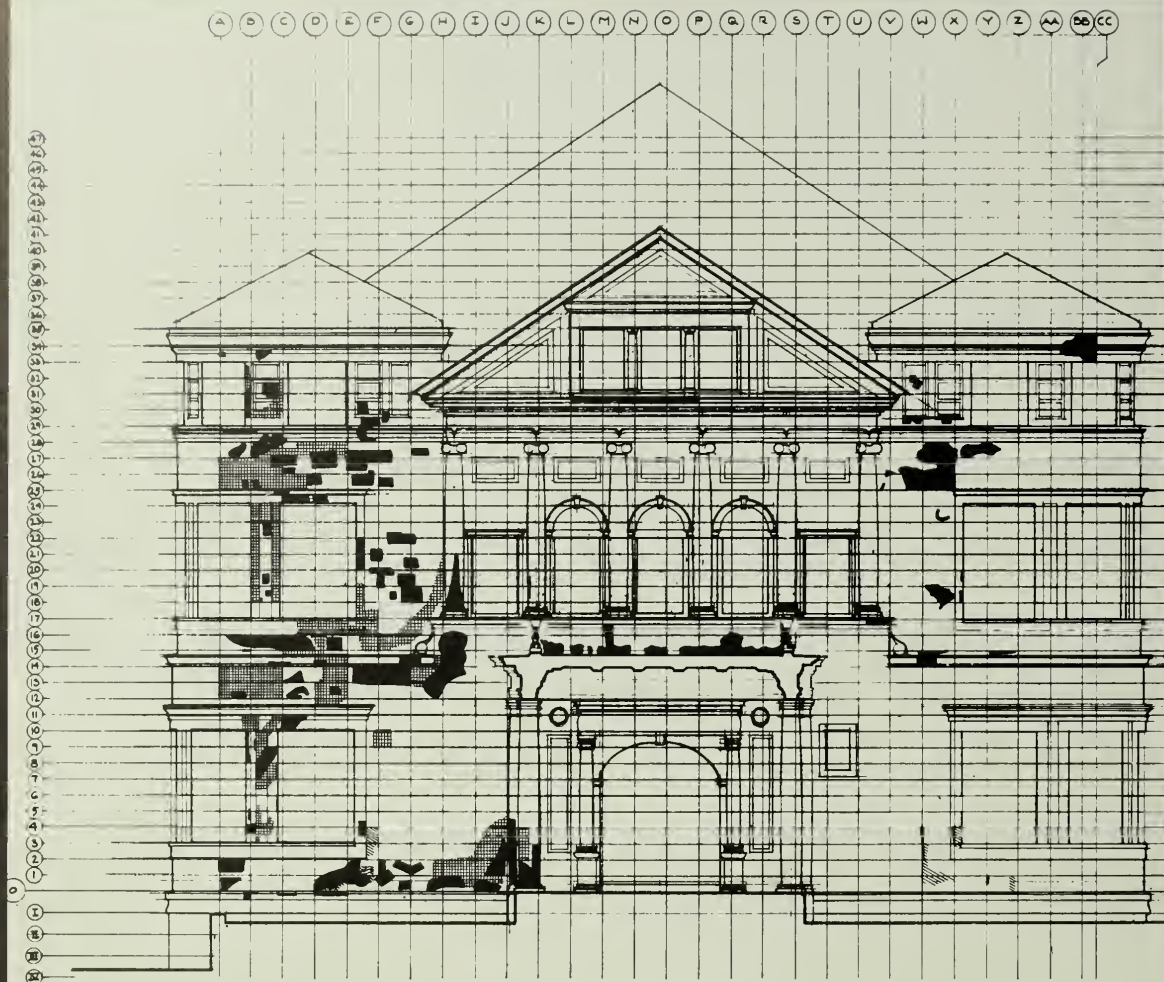
Deterioration of historic stone buildings and monuments, in fact, has become a major world-wide conservation problem. Like all natural materials, stone constantly reacts with its environment. Wind, sun, rain, and freeze-thaw cycles stimulate the natural process of decay. Over the past several decades, increased air pollution and acid concentrations in the rainfall ("acid-rain") have contributed to the process of deterioration. Many of the world's greatest structures—the Parthenon and the buildings of

the Acropolis, for example—are deteriorating rapidly as they react to their highly polluted environments. Developing methods for slowing this deterioration process without damaging or altering the original fabric of the buildings is a major, if nearly impossible, task.

In California, because of the relatively small number of stone buildings and benign climate, stone conservation has not been as major an issue. However, in the case of the Whittier Mansion—and several other San Francisco buildings using a "soft" sedimentary stone, particularly sandstone—arresting the deterioration has become a serious problem.

The red Arizona sandstone, specified by architect Swain for the upper three stories of the Whittier

Mansion, was a relatively new material for California buildings in the 1890s, and it seems that the expectations for its performance and durability were high. The popularity and wide-spread use of "brownstone" in New York City and on the east coast may also have influenced his choice of stone. Swain may also have been attempting to emulate the prestigious 1885–86 Flood Mansion in San Francisco (now the Pacific Union Club) which was constructed of brownstone. However, the brownstone used on the Flood Mansion was a red sandstone imported from the East Coast. (Denser, less porous, and less acid-soluble, the eastern sandstone exhibits a much lower rate of deterioration than the more fragile Arizona stone.)



SOUTH ELEVATION

SCALE 1/4" = 1' 0"

The gridded survey of the south elevation reveals exact areas of paint perforation, blistering, and peeling, making clear their relation to projecting architectural elements.

The first step in studying how to conserve the Whittier Mansion stone required detailed research about the building's original construction materials and techniques as well as the history of its deterioration and maintenance. Although none of Swain's drawings for the Whittier Mansion were located, a helpful description of the building's construction plans appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on December 24, 1896:

Edward R. Swain, the architect, has just completed the drawings and plans for the residence of W. F. Whittier, which is to be erected at the North East corner of Jackson and Laguna Streets on a site commanding a magnificent view of the Bay and the Golden Gate. The house, which will be completed at a cost of about \$90,000, will be ready for occupancy in November 1895. It will be the first residence in town built entirely of stone. The lot is 80 ft \times 127 ft. 8¼ inches, fronting on Jackson Street. The main portion of the house will be 55 ft. \times 75 ft., with a wing on the East side, the full width of the lot. The first story [basement] up to the water table will be of Sespe [sand]stone, and all above that line, including the chimneys and pediments, will be in red Arizona [sand]stone. The roof will be covered with red Spanish tiles.

The architecture of the house, which will be a two-story structure with basement and attic, is Renaissance in feeling. A handsome portico [porch], 17 ft. wide, projects 9 ft. from the face of the building. It

will be very handsomely carved and highly ornamented.

Rather than solid stone like a medieval castle or cathedral, the Mansion's exterior walls were built of common red brick faced with 8" to 12" of cut stone. This was a common construction method of the time. The exterior stonework was described as "the very best ashlar," or cut-stone masonry in which the stones are accurately squared and "dressed" or finished and arranged in tight, uniform courses.

A review of historical photographs of the building's south or front facade shows that deterioration of the exterior has been progressing almost since the building's completion in 1896. By 1928 the south facade showed fairly substantial deterioration, especially on projecting ornamental stonework. Most noticeably deteriorated were the roof and window cornices, the window sill trim, and the belt courses (projecting stone bands encircling the building).

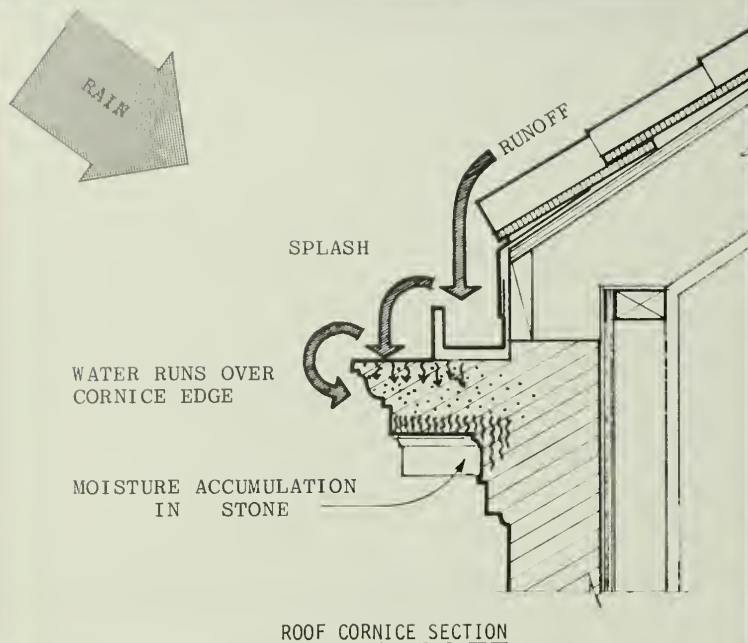
The building's most significant maintenance and repair work was attempted in 1964, at a time when the stonework had already shown significant loss and deterioration. Reflecting the conservation methods of the time, the entire building was painted—a project with lasting consequences for the stone deterioration process. The project entailed scaffolding the building,

removing any fragile stone, patching with cement, caulking joints, priming patched areas, and applying a coat of what was described as "the highest quality breathing type material" over the entire building. The dark red color of this paint approximated the natural color of the Arizona sandstone. The ground floor's mauve Sespe sandstone also received two coats of Thompson Waterseal in addition to tan-colored paint. (The lighter base color was selected to lighten the massive look of the building.) Concurrently, some window sashes and sills were repaired, especially on the south facade. In addition, workmen painted all the previously painted exterior woodwork except the carved mahogany front door.

Today, twenty years after this major attempt to avert the deterioration, Whittier Mansion's paint film shows substantial failure. Whatever protection the waterseal and paint may have afforded the stone is no longer functioning. Although the paint film and stonework are reasonably intact in sheltered areas, in areas exposed to the elements extensive perforation and peeling of the paint film is evident, thus allowing the passage and subsequent entrapment of moisture which accelerates the deterioration process.

THE SURVEY

Having investigated the Whittier



Where the roof cornices have eroded, water runs to the underside rather than dripping off, and capillary action draws the water into the stone.

Weathering of soft Arizona sandstone leads to disintegration of the stone, resulting in granular, rounded surfaces, especially on projecting carved elements.

Mansion's construction and maintenance history, the project team undertook a detailed and comparative survey of the facades, mapping pre-and post-paint deterioration problems in order to learn the extent, rate, and type of deterioration. While the main goal was to learn how and where the stone was failing, a secondary purpose was to document the exact scope of deterioration in 1980 so that the success of future conservation efforts might also be measured. By documenting the nature and extent of the damage to the facade and by developing a glossary of terms to describe the multiple kinds of damage included in the umbrella term "weathering," the staff worked to carry out a model investigation free from preconceived assessment ab-

out the conditions which had caused the deterioration or how specific areas might best be treated. Recording the information objectively was conceived as a vital phase of the project, to be completed before any analysis of the information was begun.

First the project team developed a deterioration "vocabulary" which was comprehensive yet specific enough to describe the types of visible stone deterioration. It included:

Weathering—Disintegration of stone resulting in granular rounded surfaces.

Exfoliation—Separation of large areas of stone, particularly along "bedding planes" (sedimentary layers in the stone), resulting in unevenly layered surfaces.

Cracking—Narrow fractures from 1/16" to 1/2" wide.

Unusual Loss—Dramatic loss of complete stones or significant stone parts.

Displacement—Change in alignment from original construction.

The project team also categorized three types of failures in the paint film:

Perforation—Raised pin holes, each less than 1/16" in diameter, generally appearing in clusters.

Blistering—Raised painted areas without breaks in paint film, ranging from 2" to 6" in diameter and lifting at least 1/8" from stone surface.

Peeling—Broken paint film, often along clean, sharp lines, curling away from stone and



usually carrying a thin layer of stone with it.

Next, the project architect prepared a set of elevation drawings of the building's facades as a base for recording the survey information and developed a grid-overlay corresponding to the courses of stone on the building. This made it possible to record the condition of the stonework on a stone-by-stone basis simply by logging axis coordinates. (This system will also be used to specify the eventual repair work.)

A major question which needed to be answered prior to developing recommendations for conservation measures concerned the effect of the 1964 painting and whether the paint should be removed from the stone or left in place. To address

this question the investigators conducted three separate surveys: Stone Deterioration Prior to Painting in 1964; Failure in Paint Film; and Stone Deterioration Since Painting.

Utilizing the categories established for different types of deterioration and failure, the team then plotted the location of each category on the gridded elevation drawings. When the survey drawings were completed, staff analyzed the schematic drawings and made observations about stone deterioration, pre-painting and post-painting, as well as failures in the paint film itself.

Among the most important observations gained from a full year of periodic inspection of the building were that deterioration oc-

curred on all facades both before and after the painting, that the south or front facade is most severely deteriorated, and that the native California Sespe sandstone used on the foundation level exhibited a substantially slower rate of deterioration pre-paint and post-paint. On the Arizona sandstone, weathering and paint film failures were noted to be most significant around stonework projecting beyond the flat planes of the facade, particularly on horizontal belt courses, on free-standing balusters or rails and posts, and on cornices. In the majority of cases, paint film failures were clustered in areas of past stone failure and exposure to rainwater run-off. Stone loss was greatest where the stone was exposed to the weather from all sides.



Change in alignment of cornice blocks, cracking, weathering, and peeling paint affect the front portico and corner tower.

DIAGNOSES OF DETERIORATION PROCESSES

The deterioration of stone is related to the type and composition of the stone. Igneous rocks such as granite are relatively impervious to water and acid, and extremely hard to cut and work (and therefore costly to use). Softer sedimentary rock such as sandstone and limestone, which are formed by deposits settling out of water, are easier to cut and work, but much more porous and generally more reactive with acids in water. The deterioration of the Whittier Mansion's stonework reflects these qualities which are inherent in the composition of the sandstone itself.

The red Arizona sandstone used on the Mansion's upper levels consists of small grains of mostly quartz, bound together with cementing materials which are principally clays and a carbonate material (probably calcium carbonate). Porosity of the stone is high, and it is acid-soluble.

In contrast, the Mansion foundation's California Sespe sandstone is considerably denser than the Arizona sandstone. Its grains consist of both quartz and feldspar well cemented with limonite, clay and a very small amount of carbonates. It is both less porous and less reactive to acids than the Arizona stone.

Deterioration processes working on the Mansion's facade include mechanical and chemical processes, both of which are related to San Francisco's damp climate. (Turn-of-the-century sandstone buildings in arid Flagstaff, Arizona, where the red stone was quarried, show significantly less deterioration.)

The research staff identified the different mechanical and chemical processes related to the established categories of deterioration:

Dissolution of Acid Solution Binder

—Where contact with acidic rainwater is most severe, carbonate materials dissolve, resulting in disintegration, sanding, and loss of detail.

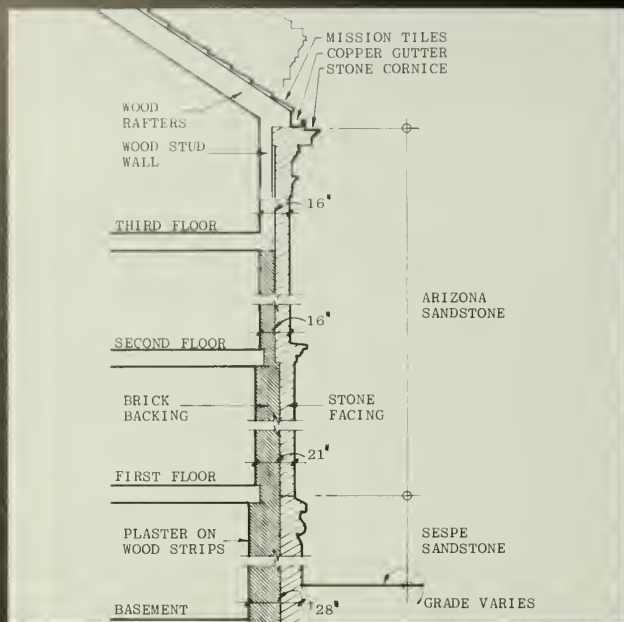
Crust Formation—The gradual transport by water of small amounts of acid-soluble binder from the interior toward the outer surfaces of the stone result in the redeposition of this binder as a thin, uniform "skin."

Swelling of Clay Materials—Excessive wetting causes expansion of the sandstone's clay elements, resulting in disintegration of the surface and buckling and cleavage of the weathering crust.

Anisotropic Absorption of Water—Capillary action concentrates wetting and drying of "face-bedded" stones (stones cut and installed with their faces parallel to the stone's natural layers)



By the late 1950s, the mansion's extensively carved south portico revealed erosion of cornice ornamentation, deterioration of the capitals above the columns, and loss of parts.



Sespe and Arizona sandstone face the mansion's walls, which are capped by an overhanging stone cornice and tile roof.

Behind the outdoor soup kitchen set up on the corner of Jackson and Laguna streets after the 1906 Earthquake is the Whittier Mansion, intact except for fallen chimneys (see arrow).

along bedding planes where the stone is the weakest and most likely to shear off.

Since the painting of the building's facades in 1964 was intended to protect the stonework from water-related deterioration, project staff gave full consideration to its possible preservation value. For a time at least, the paint film did provide a skin which helped the building shed water, thereby offering a measure of protection. Deterioration patterns on the Mansion as identified in the three-phase survey, as well as the processes of chemical deterioration evident in the stone itself, however, indicate that moisture entrapment behind the paint film—in part the result of deferred maintenance—is now gravely accelerating the disintegration proc-

ess. By retarding evaporation of water trapped behind the skin, the paint prolongs the contact of the chemically reactive carbonate binder with normally acidic rain-water. Failure of the coating, in turn, has given greater access to water which then migrates laterally by capillary action and becomes trapped beneath adjacent areas of intact paint.

Deterioration of the surface of the stone as a result of exposure to San Francisco's damp environment has also been accelerated by features of the building's design and construction. Had the architect better understood the probable behavior of Arizona sandstone in its new environment, he might have designed a different building, possibly one with broad roof-overhangs and

eaves to protect the sandstone from direct water movement.

The lack of roof overhang contributes directly to the deterioration of the stone facade, because water sheets down the south and west facades during rain storms. The building's round corner towers, lacking even a cornice overhang, are the most quickly touched by rain, but the flat wall facades (particularly on the south) are also rapidly soaked by rain and runoff.

The building's horizontal belt courses, which were intended to divert the water away from the walls, now tend to collect and hold run-off. Capillary action then absorbs the water into the stone—upward from the belt courses and downward into the decorative courses below.



Over time this action has caused extensive erosion of gables, roof and window cornices, and belt courses, permitting water to flow unchecked down the wall surfaces and accelerating the deterioration of carved ornamentation that would normally be shielded beneath the projecting horizontal elements. Water also soaks into all the projected horizontal stone, weakening it and increasing its weight. This encourages cantilevered or extended details to shear off, especially along bedding or sediment deposition planes. The balustrades of the east wing and south portico have deteriorated at an even faster rate because of their exposure on all sides to wet weather.

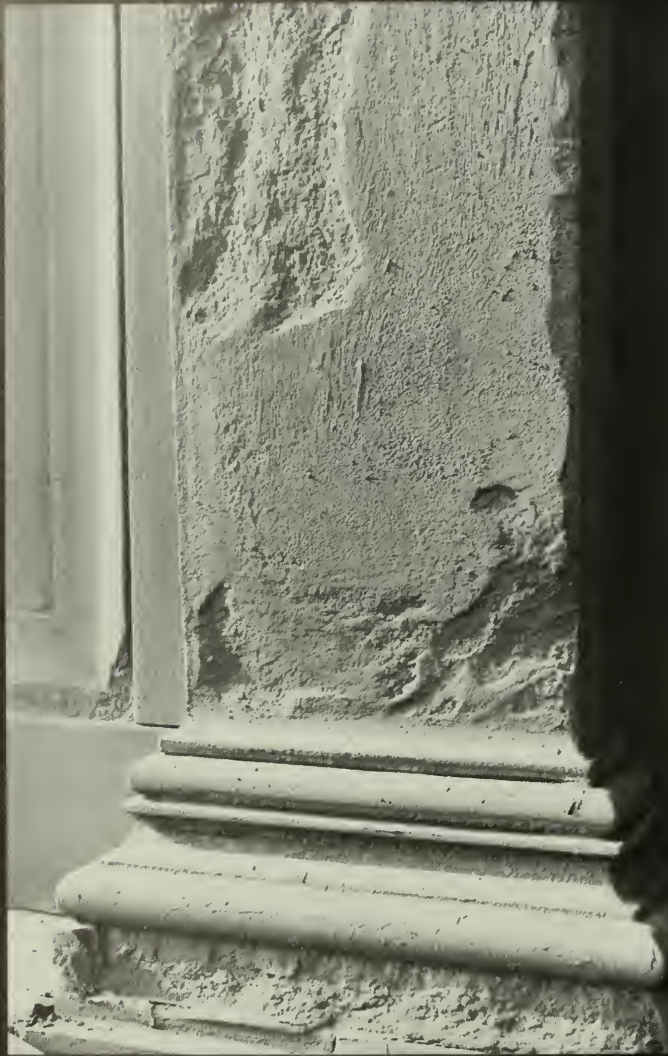
CONSERVATION TREATMENTS

Having surveyed the types and causes of the deterioration of the Whittier Mansion's stonework, the project team then outlined a conservation plan for the building. In developing the plan, the team recognized that many factors contributing to the deterioration—local climate, inherent weakness of the stone, building design details, surface coating, and deferred maintenance—could not be eliminated. Although conservation techniques have advanced, there are no miraculous cures which will solve all of the problems.

The conservation policy developed therefore focused on slowing down the rate of deterioration. Highest priority rests on repairing

and maintaining the original fabric of a structure, not restoring it to look like "new." Where replacement of parts is necessary, the identical material is to be used if possible to avoid the risk of incompatibility of the new material, especially in terms of different rates of weathering and "aging." In addition, conservation measures should be reversible so that changes and repairs can be remedied or reversed if they prove unsatisfactory over time, with the minimum impact on the building.

The program recommended for the Whittier Mansion attempts to follow these basic principles, seeking primarily to conserve what remains of the existing facades and to reinforce areas of current or potential stone failure. It focuses on



Exfoliation or separation of large areas of stone along the bedding planes results in an unevenly layered surface. This is especially significant on face-bedded blocks.

structural safety, improvement of the building's weather-resistance, slowing of the process of deterioration, and on-going maintenance.

Paint Removal

Since it was known that the paint applied to the building in 1964 was trapping moisture in the stone and thus accelerating its deterioration, removal of the paint seemed the first natural step in the conservation program. The appropriate paint removal technique, however, needed to be economical and commercially available.

Several techniques commonly used in the building industry, such as wire brushing, scraping, sanding, and burning, were immediately eliminated as too aggressive for the fragile stone. Methods which were selected for testing included hot air, chemical stripping, and dry and wet abrasive blasting (excluding use of sand).

The project team tested various systems on a little-visible area of the building's east facade, but only two techniques took the paint off without extensively damaging the stone. Carefully controlled blasting with milled walnut shells, silica, and other dry grit materials successfully removed the paint and loose, friable stone without introducing water into the stone. Blasting, however, imparted a rough-texture to the surface inconsistent with the original smooth masonry.

Chemical stripping systems proved to be the most successful in removing the paint. Among the numerous chemical compounds and systems of application tested, the recommended system utilized ProSoCo Sure Clean Heavy Duty Paint Stripper, an alkaline-organic solvent, followed by a low-pressure (approx. 10 psi), warm-water rinse and scrubbing with a soft bristle brush.

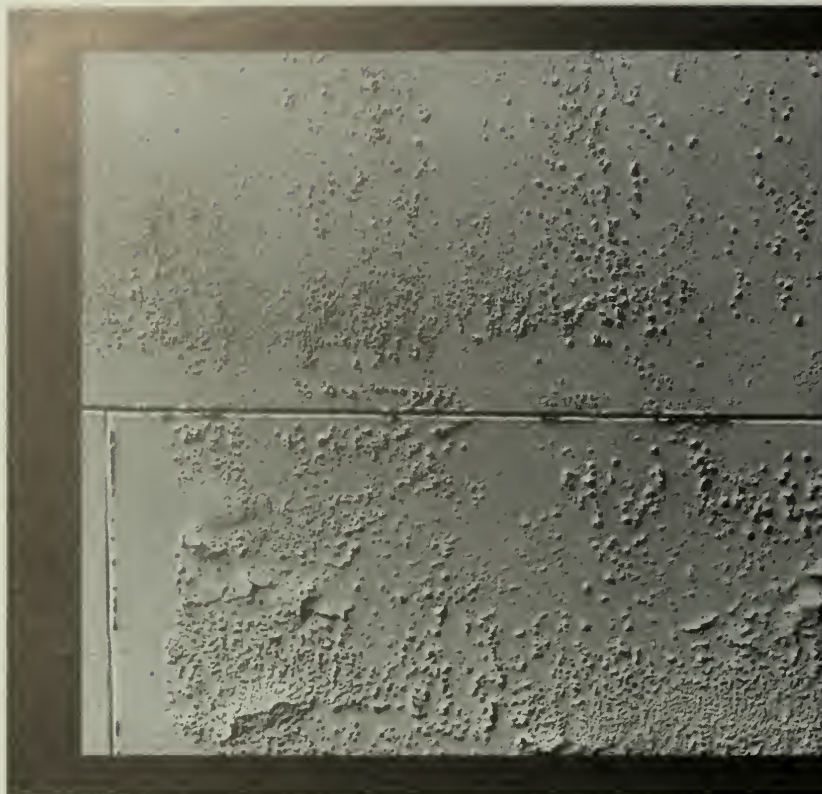
Testing the recommended paint removal system on a larger area indicated some of the problems which will be encountered during and after removal of the paint. Tests suggest that even under areas of solid paint film, stone deterioration is occurring. As a result, when the paint is removed, a pitted and eroded surface with variations in the surface of up to $\frac{3}{8}$ " becomes visible. In addition, the paint-removal tests exposed an area where a white cement compound had been used to patch the stone prior to painting, as well as extensive visible caulking of joints. Once the paint is removed, these areas of white cement will have to be carefully chipped out and either patched with cement that has been formulated with ground Arizona sandstone for color and texture, or whole blocks may be replaced in the original stone.

Consolidants

Consolidants are low-viscosity



Peeling occurs when the paint film breaks, frequently along clean, sharp lines, and curls away from the stone. A thin layer of stone usually adheres to the peeling paint.



Raised pin holes, often in clusters, perforate the paint film covering the surface of the stone.

Staff tested various chemical paint removal techniques on an inconspicuous portion of the east facade.

liquids which, when absorbed by stone or wood, provide increased internal strength. When used successfully, consolidants can strengthen partially deteriorated materials, re-adhere fractured pieces of construction, and occasionally reconstruct surface details that have been lost. Consolidants have been employed for some time, especially in museum work on statuary, but use on a building-wide basis is still a largely experimental endeavor, as well as an extremely costly one.

Consolidation of sandstone involves the deposition of a stable substitute binder which replaces the original cementing materials lost through chemical weathering. The consolidant must adhere to the stone grains and be chemically and

mechanically compatible with them. Deep penetration of the consolidant into the stone is essential in order to avoid formation of a hardened outer skin, which will later spall or flake off.

In the past decades, conservators have experimented with various building stone consolidants. Currently the most promising consolidants are the alkoxysilanes. Several are now commercially available in Europe where consolidants have been more widely experimented with.

Three alkoxysilane consolidants—Tegavakon T, Tegavakon V, and Rhordosil X 54-802—were tested on samples of the Arizona sandstone from the Whittier Mansion. The testing procedure involved application of varying

numbers of coats of consolidant material, exposure to weather for several weeks, cross-sectioning to determine the depth of penetration and its effect on the stone.

While the stone showed some increase in surface hardness and water repellancy, none of the materials penetrated deeply enough to prevent formation of a crust. In addition they significantly altered the color of the stone and would more likely further change color over several years. Finally, the cost of the consolidants—around \$50 a quart—and the great volume required to penetrate each stone make them currently prohibitive for use on a large building. The project team therefore did not recommend the use of consolidants on the Whittier Mansion, and preference



was given to more traditional methods of repair and replacement.

Water Repellant and Waterproof Coatings

Waterproof coatings have often been applied to historic masonry buildings in an effort to reduce moisture entry into the stone, and this was the intention in painting the Whittier Mansion in 1964. While offering some surface protection, however, waterproof coatings tend to trap moisture, accelerating the deterioration of the stone underneath.

Water repellant coatings, on the other hand, are designed to permit the stone to breathe while repelling the entry of moisture. However, unless the coated stone is thoroughly sound, it continues to deteriorate. Uniform results cannot be

achieved unless the coating is carefully applied without areas of overlap, and, in addition, the coats must be reapplied every five years.

After carefully considering use of a preventative coating versus leaving the stone untreated, the stone conservator recommended allowing the stone to "breathe" naturally rather than creating a barrier to the outward passage of water absorbed into the stone. As a result, neither waterproof nor water-repellant coatings are considered an appropriate treatment for the Mansion.

Mechanical Repair

Mechanical repairs such as drilling, pinning, and grouting are often used to fasten together fractured or deteriorated masonry. In California, epoxy-grouted bolts drilled

into unreinforced masonry walls are a common method of attaching masonry to stiff, earthquake-resistant frames or wall systems.

At the Whittier Mansion, mechanical repair may be appropriate where stonework is cracked or where cantilevered stonework is detached or needs reinforcement. Mechanical repairs may also be used where there is partial loss of adhesion between bedding planes inside the stone, but where the loosened material remains on the building (a condition called *blind exfoliation*).

Mechanical repair techniques generally involve drilling a small hole through the pieces to be re-attached or reinforced; inserting a reinforcing pin of a stable, non-corrosive material such as stainless



The mansion's red (Moenkopi) sandstone came from this quarry near Flagstaff, Arizona.

Chalk marks indicate the depth of stone penetration achieved by various consolidants after more than ten applications.

steel, glass-reinforced resin, or Teflon; and filling the void with a non-shrinking epoxy grout. The exposed end of the drilled hole is then covered with a patch colored and textured to match the stonework.

Composite Patching

Patching has frequently been used for inexpensive cosmetic repairs on masonry buildings. Composite patches consist of a mortar-like paste made from Portland cement and lime binder, sand or crushed stone aggregate, and pigments to match the color of surrounding stone.

The appearance and durability of composite-patch repairs varies greatly. Because the patch is applied directly to the face of the stonework, the bond and the compatability

between the two materials is important. Many examples exist of buildings where the stonework was completely restored with composite patches only to have the patches fall off within a short time because of moisture, freeze-thaw cycles, or the incompatibility between the two materials. A second problem is the difficulty of developing a patch which achieves the same color and texture as the original stonework, especially over time.

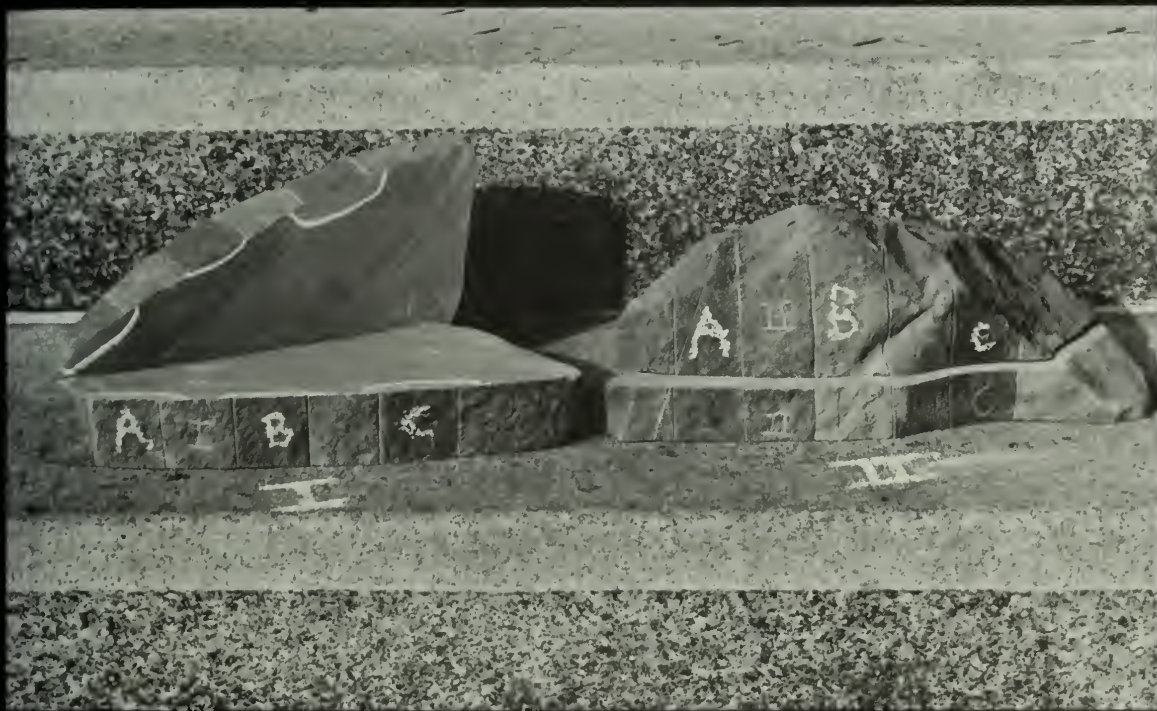
Although composite patching was not recommended as a primary long-term conservation method for the Whittier Mansion, patching on a limited or temporary basis may be the only repair or conservation option for some areas. Accordingly, the project team tested an extensive range of mixtures

to develop the most appropriate formulation and technique of application for the building.

Stone Replacement

For appearance and durability, replacement of severely deteriorated areas of wall surfaces with new stone is clearly the best restoration technique. Replacements can be completely compatible with the existing building fabric and require no special new technology or new craft. Cost constraints, however, require that replacements be made only where the depth or severity of stone deterioration is so great that additional water is being introduced into the wall surface.

The process of stone replacement is most appropriate to flat deteriorated areas. In these cases, it is necessary only to remove the front



portion of the stone to a depth of 4-6 inches. This allows the bedding and attachment of a new piece of stone veneer, called a "Dutchman." The piece is precisely cut and fitted to the existing opening and attached to the inside stonework with mortar and stainless steel anchors. Similar repairs can be executed for belt courses, window sills, or trim.

Newspaper articles appearing during the time of the original construction of the Whittier Mansion have made it possible for modern researchers to identify the original source of the Arizona sandstone. Although the Flagstaff quarry is no longer active, the stone is still available and has been used at recent restoration projects at Northern Arizona University.

Artificial or Cast Stone

This technique involves the casting or molding of a mix of sand and stone aggregate bound in a hydrated Portland cement base similar to composite patching mixtures. By adding pigments and crushed stone, the fabrication can often achieve colors and textures identical to the sandstone.

Cast stone provides a number of advantages over natural stone. Exact duplication of existing carvings or moldings is possible without the expense of carving stone by hand. Because cast stone utilizes a Portland cement binder, it is considerably more weather resistant than natural sandstone. Finally, steel reinforcements can be inserted into the cast, making it easy to anchor the piece to the building. This is

particularly important for elements such as cornices or balustrades which might fall during an earthquake.

Cast stone has been successfully used as a replacement material on numerous restoration projects. At the Whittier Mansion, it is most appropriate where entire sections must be replaced, such as the balustrade and cornice assembly of the front portico. The assembly's extreme deterioration and visually important location above the main entrance to the building make reconstruction of these elements the only recommended option. Cast stone is more economical than carved stone and permits much stronger connections between the elements. Cast stone will also be an appropriate restoration material for

deteriorated projecting stonework, such as the main roof cornice, and for areas where the existing stonework cannot be anchored to the building.

Improving Weather Resistance

Most conservation measures described here involve repair and treatment of the stonework itself. However, the most successful way to slow the deterioration of the stonework will be to improve the building's ability to shed and divert rainwater away from the stone walls. Water currently enters the walls through roofs, gutters and downspouts, window openings, mortar joints, and projecting horizontal stonework such as cornices, belt courses, and porticos. These must all be rehabilitated, restored, or altered to discourage the entry of water into the walls. All of the elements will need to be repaired for the conservation program to be effective.

For the most part, the work required involves very straightforward construction work, including repair and improvement of the Mansion's tile roof, its turret or tower caps, and copper gutters and flashing. Window frames and sashes throughout the building, now almost ninety years old, also need repair or replacement. Deteriorated or open mortar joints should be carefully cleaned out and re-pointed with new mortar.

All horizontal stone projections, including roof cornices, belt courses, window cornices, and the south portico roof should be capped with sheet metal to prevent water from moving over and through the stone and to divert the flow of water away from the face of the building. The material recommended for this work is non-staining, lead-coated copper sheet metal, which has good workability and long life.

SETTING A COURSE OF ACTION

After surveying the building, identifying the exact nature and extent of the stone deterioration problems, investigating and testing various conservation techniques, and listing recommended treatments for each problem area, the Whittier Mansion project staff concluded its work with a phased conservation plan for the Whittier Mansion.

Phase One—Emergency Work—focuses on repairing elements of the building. While the building was found to be structurally sound, some decorative elements demand immediate repair. Phase Two—Testing of Conservation Treatments—includes the preparation of casting molds and experimentation to develop the most efficient large-scale field procedure for removing the building's paint film. Phase

Three —Conservation Work—contains all of the major conservation and restoration work, ranging from paint removal to mortar re-pointing and stone surface repair. Finally, Phase Four of the project team's recommended plan—Maintenance Program—will prevent deterioration from accelerating. Monitoring of the building, on-going maintenance, and repair are a crucial part of the long-term plan for the building.

Having completed the study phase of the project, CHS can now begin to implement its long-term plan for the Whittier Mansion and its surrounding properties. The conservation plan allows CHS to continue to occupy its historic site with confidence and gives the institution a step-by-step plan for restoring and maintaining its remarkable building. With on-going care and effort, the Whittier Mansion will continue to provide the community with a unique opportunity to understand the architectural and social heritage of nineteenth-century San Francisco. □

Glossary

Ashlar—Squared, dressed rectangle of stone for facing walls constructed of another material, such as brick.

Balustrade—A railing consisting of a series of small posts connected at the top by a continuous horizontal member.

Bedding plane—Solidified layers of de-



*All the photographs and drawings
are from the California Historical
Society files.*

posit visible after sedimentary rock is quarried.

Belt course—Molded projecting band of stone or other material that circles a building horizontally.

Cornice—Horizontal molded projection that crowns a building, wall, or window.

Face-bedded stone—Sedimentary stone installed in a wall so that the natural bedding planes of the stone are parallel to the face of the wall.

Portico—A classical entrance porch with roof supported by columns.

Sedimentary rock—Rock formed from deposits which settle out of water, bind together, and solidify.

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YOU HAVE FORGOTTEN SOMETHING!

In the last century, before telephone, television, and magazines, people depended on each other for entertainment and news. Letters from family and friends helped pass the time and relieve the isolation of rural life.

This note from a very lonely bachelor to a friend in Placerville reveals a young man's ambivalent feelings about wintering at Lake Tahoe. It also documents his full-blown case of cabin fever.

Rowlands, El Dorado Co., Cal.
Jan'y 3d 1876

J. W. Dench

Dear Friend and Bro.

It strikes me very forcibly that you have forgotten some thing and that which is of a great deal of importance especially to me, that of writing to your Humble Servant. I want to hear from P.[lacer]ville the worst kind. I believe the Hollidays are past, and I know I'm terribly snowed in. The snow is about 3 feet deep here at the Lake [Tahoe]. It must be nearly twice that at Osgood's [Toll House] and snowing now like the devil. Have had no mail for two weeks and am getting mighty anxious to hear from the outside world. I have undertaken a big thing for me and that is trying to winter in here. The main thing that induced me to stay here is that I had to have a Boat and thought I might as well stay here a part of the season at least and build one which I am doing. Have it nearly complete, ready for painting, and if you will come up here next season it will be at your command.

But it will greatly surprise me to ever see you here again. Write, *John*, and tell me what was done in town Christmas & New Years. Who of the Boys are stopping in town this winter? what has become of Al. Jones, Ben Mc., John Murray *Et al*.

If the weather & snow is so I can get over the Mts the last of this month or early in Feby, I may take a run over and stop a week or two. If it hadnt been for my cussed Boat, would have been there before this. Write me if you learn of any Parties coming off towards the first of Feb so that if I should come down I can make the connection.

What kind of winter are you having. It has been storming or threatening all the time during the last two months.

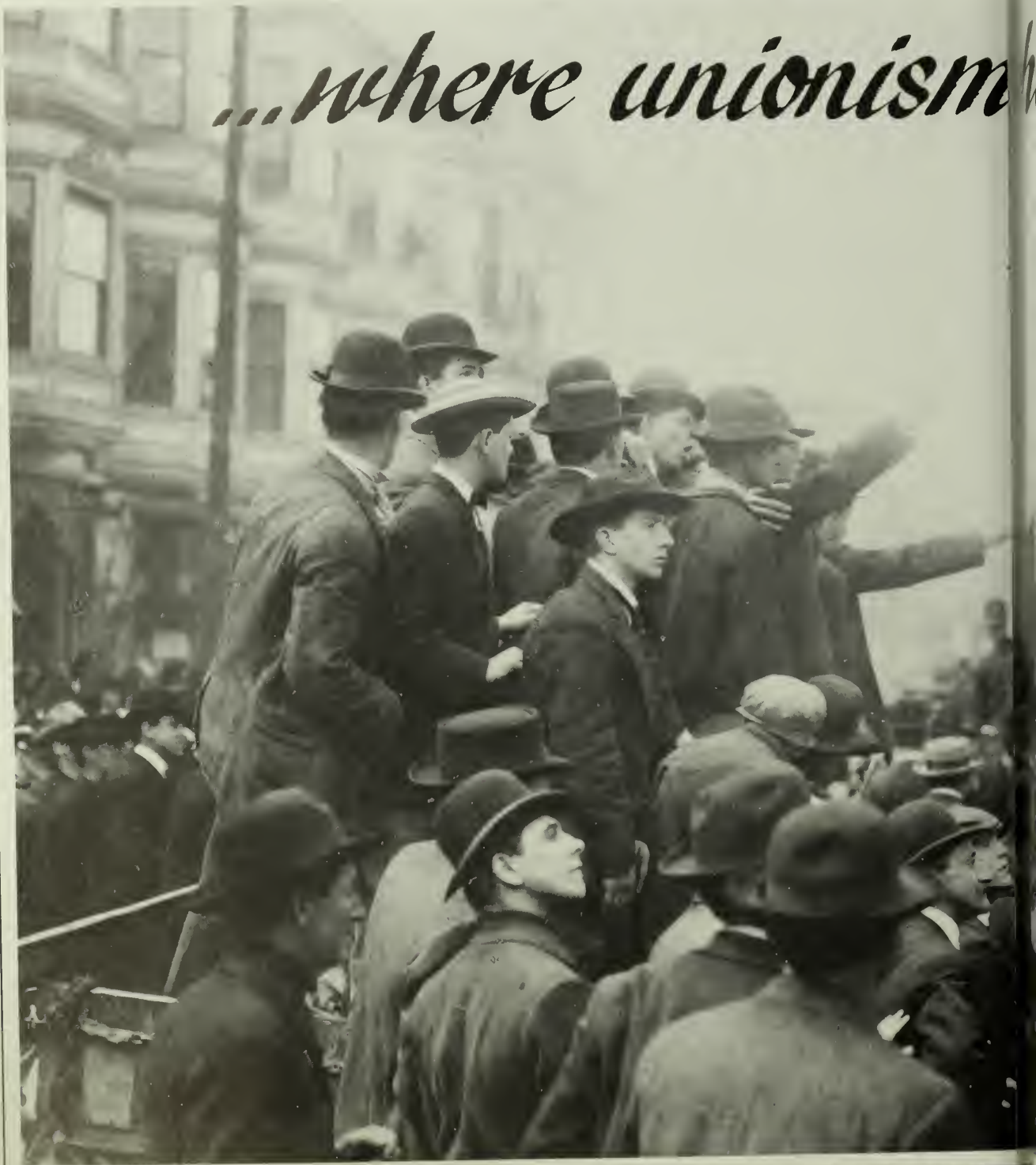
I was over at Glenbrook [Nevada] two or three weeks ago and stopped over night at Phillips. The girls are having gay times; Lizzie Bunker is stopping with them this winter helping them. There will be lots of fellows stopping at Glenbrook this winter, and they will keep the girls stirred up. Cap Howland is down at Dutch Flat [Placer County]. Has been away about a month. I am staying at his House. All alone at present.

How are the girls? Have you applied for a marriage license yet? Has there been any late departures? Dont fail to write soon, John. Give me the news generally.

Yours Fraternally,

O. A. Persing.

...where unionism




When street railwaymen struck for recognition of their union, the sympathetic Union Labor party mayor denied weapons permits to company police. J.S. Holliday Collection

holds undisputed sway.

A Reappraisal of San Francisco's Union Labor Party

by Jules Tygiel



The successful labor party has been a rarity in United States history. Few major cities have elected labor candidates to the mayor's chair; nor have working-class parties sustained any prolonged voter appeal. The Union Labor party of San Francisco is an exception. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the party elected its candidates for mayor in four out of five elections. On two occasions, it also dominated the board of supervisors. The Union Labor party, however, fell under the influence of political manipulator Abe Ruef and became the vehicle for San Francisco's most famous graft scandals. As a result, the party is far better remembered for its corruption than its class consciousness. In both its origins and controversial career, however, the Union Labor party was a legitimate voice of the working class, reflecting class conflict in turn-of-the-century San Francisco.

Historians who have written about the Union Labor party have paid lip service to its working-class origins, but they have been more fascinated by the role of Ruef than the reign of labor. Walton Bean,

who wrote the definitive account of the graft prosecution, ties the Union Labor victories to Ruef's skill and opportunism and the "impish" behavior of the San Francisco electorate.¹ James P. Walsh stresses Ruef's understanding of ethnic politics as the key to the appeal of party standard-bearer Eugene E. Schmitz.² However, the party's continued success after Ruef had been sent to San Quentin makes it unlikely that ethnicity alone could not have supplanted the city's two-party establishment. San Francisco workingmen were voting not for Ruef, but for the principle of having a labor representative in city hall. In all the elections in which the Union Labor party participated, the fundamental issue was one of class representation; voting patterns indicate that the San Francisco electorate, both workers and non-workers, clearly perceived this division and cast their ballots accordingly.

San Francisco's workingmen created the Union Labor party as a response to local events in 1901, but the party was also the result of several turbulent decades of labor struggles in San Francisco. Isolated from eastern population centers and

influenced by the gold and silver bonanzas of the 1850s and 1860s. San Francisco workers were bequeathed a heritage of high wages and labor scarcity, the ideal components for a successful labor movement. During the city's early years, unions flourished and won an accepted place on the local scene, and while labor's fortunes fluctuated dramatically during the later half of the nineteenth century, these traditions assured a foundation for future growth.³

Labor's advantages in San Francisco were enhanced by decades of anti-Chinese agitation. While efforts to restrict Chinese immigration and drive Asian labor from San Francisco were not confined to the city's workingmen, anti-Chinese sentiment tended to minimize the divisive effect of ethnic differences among working-class whites.

The popular campaign against Chinese immigrants also provided workingmen a vital training ground in the use of tactics that would become a part of labor's arsenal. The union label, the boycott, and the city-wide federation were all developed or refined during the anti-coolie crusade. In the 1870s the triumph of the Workingmen's party, which successfully mobilized people on a platform combining economic grievances with anti-Chinese rhetoric, provided a model for labor leaders and politicians

who learned to wield prejudice as an organizing tool.⁴


Traditions of high wages, labor organization, and anti-Chinese agitation notwithstanding, the course of unionism in San Francisco was not steadily upward. Throughout the United States, economic downturns and employer onslaughts repeatedly destroyed fragile unions and depleted the ranks of the surviving bodies. San Francisco was no exception. The depression of the 1890s, coupled with the anti-union campaign of the Manufacturers' and Employers' Association, proved disastrous for local labor organizations. The framework for a potent labor movement remained, however, as the San Francisco Labor Council and the Building Trades Council emerged intact from the depression era.

The return of prosperity to San Francisco after 1897 triggered widespread labor organizing. Union membership increased by 500 percent over a four-year period, and dozens of unions made successful demands for higher wages. In 1901 San Francisco business interests responded with the formation of the Employers' Association, a confederation of unnamed capitalists dedicated to the destruction of organized labor. The Employers' Association van-

quished weak unions like the Metal Polishers, Cooks and Waiters, and Butchers, but these early skirmishes in the burgeoning industrial war proved inconclusive. If the attempt to stop trade-union growth in the city was to bear fruit, the employers had to force a showdown with one of the city's strongest organizations.⁵

The logical opponent was the Brotherhood of Teamsters. Occupying a central position in the San Francisco economy, the Teamsters was the most powerful of the new unions. It had signed a contract with the Draymen's Association promising to work only for firms which exclusively employed union labor. In July 1901, however, at the instigation of the Employers' Association, the Draymen engineered a confrontation by ordering the team drivers to haul for a non-union firm. When the Teamsters refused, the men were "locked out," prohibited from going to work.

Most labor leaders felt that if the Teamsters were defeated in this dispute, unionism in San Francisco would be crushed; thus, when city police protected efforts to use strike-breakers, the City Front Federation, a coalition of waterfront unions, joined the Teamsters on the picket lines. For three increasingly violent months, San Francisco's port, the largest on the Pacific Coast, was closed. When



the struggle finally ground to an ambiguous halt in October 1901, both sides claimed victory.

While the industrial turmoil surrounding the waterfront strike set the stage for a successful political rebellion, the genesis of the Union Labor party actually preceded the outbreak of the Teamster conflict. Rumors that labor would field a ticket in the upcoming mayoral elections began to spread in early June 1901.⁶ On July 7, a small group of unionists led by Isadore Less of the Journeymen Barbers' Union announced the formation of the executive committee of the Union Labor party.⁷ The political venture was under way.

The impetus for the new party came from the same segment of the labor movement that had disrupted the status quo of industrial relations in San Francisco: the small, recently organized unions of semi-skilled workingmen. In addition to the Barbers, among the earliest supporters of the party were the Cooks and Waiters, Porters and Packers, Riggers and Stevedores, Hackmen, and Stablemen. Although all of the members of the Executive Committee were delegates to the San Francisco Labor Council, they acted independently of the central body. A more influential force in the initial development of the new movement was probably the Socialist Labor party,

San Francisco workers were bequeathed a heritage of high wages and labor scarcity, the ideal components for a successful labor movement.

with which Less and several other founders were affiliated.⁸

Few people gave the Union Labor party any chance of success. The hurdles in the path of a political organization drawn from the ranks of organized labor were numerous. Primary among them was one of simple mathematics. "Even supposing that the aggrieved unions formed a political party," the *Coast Seamen's Journal* had asked eight years earlier, "are there trade unionists enough in any large community to make issue successfully with the votes of other denominations?"⁹ While blue-collar workingmen were in the majority in the male population, they constituted a far smaller pro-

portion of the electorate. Some were too young to vote, while many foreign-born were not citizens. Residency requirements eliminated many highly mobile workers. In addition, not all blue-collar wage earners could be counted on to support a trade-union party. Many, perhaps most, workingmen had firm allegiances to the Democratic and Republican parties and would vote accordingly; others, although registered, would probably abstain. Even in a three-way contest, the Union Labor party would be hard pressed to garner the votes necessary for a plurality.¹⁰

One other obstacle loomed large for any trade-union party. It could expect little or no help from the leaders of organized labor. In politics, the San Francisco labor establishment adhered to the doctrine of non-partisanship. Throughout the 1890s labor newspapers had urged unions not to support political parties, but rather to reward labor's friends and "down those who have ever raised a finger to injure our interests," regardless of party affiliations.¹¹

The Union Labor party therefore faced considerable odds in its attempt to seize the reigns of city government. Several factors, however, made labor politics more feasible in San Francisco than in other cities. The bipartisan politi-

cal establishment was relatively weak and no dominant political machine or boss existed. In addition, the triumph of the Workingmen's party just twenty years earlier had established a precedent well within recent memory and a tradition of labor participation in politics. Since 1880 an atypically large number of blue-collar workers had been nominated by the Democratic and Republican parties and elected to local offices. Many of these public figures rose to power on the familiar combination of union advocacy and anti-Asian demagoguery that had become a staple of San Francisco politics. Like representatives of the Workingmen, Democratic and Republican parties, Union Labor politicians would follow this same course.¹²

On balance, the negative factors facing the Union Labor party in 1901 outweighed the positive. In early July, despite the growing industrial turmoil, the outlook for the party was not promising. Few unions had showed interest in such a venture and most labor leaders opposed it. In order for the Union Labor party to make an impressive showing at the polls in November, workingmen would have to be convinced the existing local government was an extension of the city's business interests and that the election of a labor admin-

Bitterly disappointed with the man they had helped to elect, workingmen rejected not only the mayor, but the Democratic party.

istration would benefit the workers. Fortunately for the party, the actions of Mayor James Duval Phelan and other public officials in the summer of 1901 seemed to demonstrate both.

Phelan, elected as a reform candidate in 1896, had won re-election easily in 1898 and in 1899 (under the new city charter). Prior to the strike, the mayor had been extremely popular with most of the electorate. A wealthy merchant who ran as an anti-corruption reformer, Phelan had fared well in the affluent neighborhoods north of Market Street. As an Irish Democrat whose credentials as an anti-Asian advocate were second to none, Phelan also swept the work-

ing-class districts in the southern part of the city. Throughout his three terms in office he had displayed sympathy for the labor movement and labor causes. He actively participated in the annual union demonstrations on Labor Day, presenting the Mayor Phelan Cup to the local organization with the best parade of colors each year. "Mr. Phelan has made a good Mayor," wrote the *Voice of Labor*, "San Francisco has had few if any that were better." Although the Labor Council had opposed Phelan on issues such as the new city charter and several public improvement bonds, he had remained popular with most workingmen. Thus when the Teamsters were locked out in the Drayman's showdown of July 1901, they expected that Phelan would at least remain neutral in the dispute.¹³

Phelan's response to the conflict, however, provided an object lesson about the influence that the Employers' Association enjoyed in his administration. From the opening moments of the struggle Phelan threw the full weight of his office behind the employers. He assigned police officers to protect strike-breakers, and on several occasions the uniformed men themselves guided the teams. "It is a crying shame," lamented Father Peter C. Yorke, a clergyman recruited to publicize the labor cause, "that the

police force of this city, paid for by your taxes, should be turned into guardian angels of the Draymen."¹⁴ Labor's protest fell upon deaf ears, however, as the mayor allegedly told the union leadership, "If you don't want to be clubbed, let them go back to work."¹⁵

Other city officials proved equally antagonistic. Attorney General Lewis F. Byington refused to prosecute employers violating the local laws; Police Commissioner George Newhall was also the president of the pro-business San Francisco Chamber of Commerce; Frank J. Symmes, the foreman of the grand jury, was head of the Merchants' Association. Both Newhall and Symmes were members of the Employers' Association, and neither would take any actions to investigate charges of police brutality. Many labor leaders and strikers felt that the lockout of the Teamsters would have been short-lived had not the Phelan Administration supported and encouraged its continuance.¹⁶

As the strike dragged on into August and September, and the Phelan Administration's active endorsement of the employers continued, workingmen increasingly turned against the mayor. Bitterly disappointed with the man they had helped to elect, they rejected not only the mayor, but the Democratic party as well. Since the Re-



Trade unionists supported Democratic Mayor James D. Phelan until the wealthy Irish merchant helped break the heated teamsters strike of 1901. *Bancroft Library*

publicans were viewed as the tools of the railroads and business interests, the new Union Labor party was left as the only alternative. Phelan's anti-labor actions also demonstrated that the city government was no impartial observer but an active participant in the lockout on behalf of the Employers' Association. Recognizing that the powers that Phelan used to support the employers could just as readily be used by a labor administration in future disputes to tilt the scales in favor of the unions, labor leaders and rank-and-filers began to turn their attention to the Union Labor party.

Throughout the summer, labor organizations increasingly en-

dorsed the party, citing what they perceived to be the misuse of power by Phelan and the police. A typographers' local pledged to "put men in office who were broad-minded enough to recognize the fact that all American citizens have rights before the law whether they be 'laborers' or 'employers'." The Iron Trades Council, still waging a strike of its own, proclaimed that "whereas the mayor and other city officials have violated their oaths of office in . . . willingly lending their official aid to assist a small wealthy combination of capitalists to override and tyrannize every citizen in the city," it would vote for none but union men. "Who can forget the shooting and clubbing

of strikers, the wholesale arrests of hundreds of inoffensive men, the surrender of the entire police force to the Employers' Association, the employment of special policemen and the call of Police Commissioner Newhall for the National Guard," wrote the *Coast Seamen's Journal* after reversing its long-standing policy of non-partisanship.¹⁷ Mayor Phelan had provided the Union Labor party with the ammunition to win over many trade unionists.

By September 5, when the Union Labor party opened its first nominating convention, approximately sixty-eight unions were represented. Included in this body were most of the members of the City Front Federation, including the Teamsters, virtually all of the metal trades unions, and many other members of the San Francisco Labor Council. Conspicuously absent from the meeting was the Sailors' Union (which would endorse the party later that week) and all but two of the building trades unions.¹⁸ From the unimpressive nucleus of small labor organizations that had planted the seeds of political action in July had sprouted a movement which encompassed most of the city's organized workingmen.

Amassing the union delegates at

To a party devoid of leadership, Ruef brought his own organization, a platform, and a candidate.

a party convention was one thing, however; developing a platform and candidate that would not only unify the working-class vote but appeal to elements outside organized labor was quite another. The small group of socialists that had spearheaded the formation of the Union Labor party was both inexperienced in political organization and unacceptable as leadership to a large segment of the labor movement.¹⁹ The result was a burgeoning political movement with uncertain leadership and organization. Twenty years earlier, when the Workingmen's party had faced a similar dilemma, Denis Kearney, a man from outside the ranks of labor, had emerged to

seize control. In 1901 another non-worker surfaced to gain control of a labor party. His name was Abraham Ruef.²⁰

Ruef was a thirty-seven-year-old lawyer with great political ambitions. His personal aspiration was not necessarily to hold office, but rather to govern the fortunes of an incumbent party. Where Kearney had been a demagogue stirring up anti-Chinese agitation, Ruef was a skillful behind-the-scenes politician. Prior to August 1901, he had displayed scant interest in the laboring man. An active Republican, Ruef had formed the Republican Primary League, through which he hoped to seize control of his party. On August 13, just three weeks before the Union Labor convention, his plans had been thwarted in the primary elections. At this point he turned his attention to the new trade union group.

To a party devoid of leadership, Ruef brought his own organization, a platform, and a candidate. Several workingmen who had allied with Ruef in the Republican Primary League now became delegates to the Union Labor party. Amidst the inexperienced union men, they forged an effective apparatus for controlling the convention. On September 6 they introduced a platform authored by Ruef



Teamsters, such as these men hauling beer for the California Brewing Company, kept the city's commerce moving. *CHS, San Francisco*

for adoption by the delegates.

Ruef's declaration of policy was a masterpiece of equivocation designed to gain the support of workingmen without alienating others. It was, in his own words, "True to every principle of labor, yet conservative." The platform included most of the standard reform measures of the age: the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and proportional representation. Its most radical demand called for public ownership of utilities. Even this idea, however, was generally accepted in San Francisco reform circles and had been included in the new city charter. Other planks dealt with the exclusion of Asians, arbitration of

industrial disputes, and better schoolhouses.²¹

The only other platform presented to the convention had been authored by the Socialist Labor party. Most delegates recognized that a radical platform would alienate that segment of the population needed to supplement the labor vote in November, however, and as a result, the Ruef platform was easily adopted.²²

Then the convention adjourned for two weeks, after which time nominations for office were to be considered. But finding a viable candidate for mayor proved difficult. Most of San Francisco's labor leaders displayed no interest in heading the party ticket. The

reigning favorite for the position was James De Succa, president of the Iron Molders Union, a colorless, unexciting candidate. Ruef, however, offered a solution to this problem. He encouraged the nomination of his old friend and co-worker in the Republican Primary League, Eugene E. Schmitz, the president of the Musicians' Union.

Schmitz possessed, as Walton Bean has noted, "a remarkable combination of political assets." As a Catholic, who was part German and part-Irish, he appealed to the large foreign-born vote. While linked to organized labor through the Musicians' Union, this affiliation would not be threatening to non-workers. Schmitz was also a



An ambitious and skillful behind-the-scenes politician, Abe Ruef (seen here during his trial) helped the fledgling Union Labor party find an organization, a platform, and a candidate. *Bancroft Library*

businessman and employer, thus placing him on both sides of the capital-labor divide. Tall, handsome, and black-bearded, Schmitz was a commanding figure of a man, who, through his experience as an entertainer, had great public presence and skill as a speaker.²³ In Schmitz, Ruef had found a political diamond in the rough, the perfect man to take advantage of the unsettled electoral situation that had emerged in San Francisco in 1901.

On September 20 the Union Labor party reconvened to name its nominees. The chairman of the convention, a Ruef man, called upon the two leading candidates to make speeches. As anticipated De Succa was dull and unimpressive.

Schmitz, delivering a speech prepared by Ruef, provided a dynamic contrast, and his theatrical presentation took the convention by storm. At day's end, Eugene E. Schmitz stood as the Union Labor party nominee for mayor of San Francisco.

Schmitz's candidacy was greeted coolly by the central labor federations of San Francisco, and neither the Labor Council nor the Building Trades Council endorsed him. The Labor Council was in an extremely difficult position. The Union Labor party had been formed by several of the council's delegates, and the party convention had been attended by

many of its affiliates. The rank and file clearly favored the new party. The Labor Council, however, was pledged to non-partisanship. Despite pressures to act otherwise, the federation remained true to its founding principles. By a vote of 37-17, the Labor Council voted against endorsing Schmitz and remained neutral throughout the campaign.²⁴

The Building Trades Council was not as kind to the union party. P. H. McCarthy, the president of the council, was a minor officeholder in the Phelan administration, and from the first rustlings of political agitation in early June, his construction workers' organization was vehemently antagonistic to the

Union Labor party. On June 13, adopting a resolution introduced by Carpenters' Union 22, the council had denounced the movement as "inimical to labor's interests." The Building Trades Council, proclaimed the resolution, represents many thousands of property owners and taxpayers, who are as jealous of their interests as any other affiliated body, be it commercial, mercantile, financial, or any other body, and realizes that the only way to subserve those interests is to affiliate with such bodies in support of safe and careful men for the public trusts.²⁵

As homeowners, the artisans were deemed to have as much in common with the city's business interests as with other workingmen who presumably were not homeowners, and a party representing only labor was not seen to be in their interest. Accordingly, only two building trades unions sent delegates to the September 5 Union Labor party convention.²⁶

As the party increased its strength and as election day drew nearer, the Trades Council grew more determined in its opposition. A week before the balloting, *Organized Labor*, the paper of the Building Trades Council, compared the new party to "a false and treacherous signal inviting wrecks at sea and ruin on land," while on election eve it described the Union Labor party as a "stench in the nostrils of all law abiding citizens."²⁷

"You call Schmitz a laboring man? Go up and shake his hand and see if he is. He's no worker. He's a professional man—a musician."

Throughout the fall of 1901, McCarthy and the other leaders of the Building Trades Council remained steadfast in their opposition to Schmitz and the Union Labor party.

Many elements of the rank and file as well as San Francisco's labor hierarchy criticized Schmitz. Whereas the union leaders were against the political party venture in its entirety, many who favored the party questioned Schmitz' credentials as a worker. "You call him a laboring man?" snapped one dissident. "Go up and shake his hand and see if he is. He's no worker. He's a professional man—a musician." Many pointed out the fact that Schmitz, despite his labor affil-

iations, owned a gas engine company and therefore was a businessman and employer. Most serious were the charges that the candidate allowed non-union goods to be used in his shop.²⁸ Despite these criticisms, however, workingmen increasingly turned to Schmitz as their choice for mayor.

Actions of the two major parties helped build support for Schmitz among workingmen. Even before the waterfront conflict, Mayor Phelan had announced he would not run for re-election. Rather than placate the labor vote by replacing him with someone amenable to their interests, the Democrats had nominated James Tobin, a member of the board of supervisors who had opposed the strikers and supported Phelan's anti-labor policies. The Republicans nominated Asa R. Wells, a lackluster candidate identified with the railroads. Workingmen had little alternative, then, but to file away their reservations and cast their ballots for Schmitz.

With the end of the waterfront conflict in October 1901, support for the Union Labor party might have abated, but exactly the opposite happened. Many workingmen felt that they had lost that struggle and blamed the defeat on the Phelan Administration. This increased their desire to replace the Democrats with a labor government.²⁹

In the strike's aftermath many

union leaders endorsed the Schmitz candidacy. Michael Casey, business agent for the Teamsters and president of the City Front Federation, "at the unanimous request of the people who reside at the port," also sanctioned the Union Labor party, while the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, the only newspaper in the city to support Schmitz, stepped up its editorial campaign in favor of the labor ticket.³⁰

The growing appeal of the Union Labor party, even among conservative workingmen, was typified by Andrew Furuseth, president of the Sailors' Union. Critical of partisan politics by trade unions and fearful of a "class government," Furuseth had at first opposed the labor party. As late as August 24, he had branded the political venture a "sad mistake." His experience as a strike leader gradually changed his mind. As it became clear that San Francisco city government was responding to pressure from the Employers' Association, Furuseth abandoned his traditional position of non-partisanship. "I found that we had a class government already," he declared, "and inasmuch as we are going to have a class government, I most emphatically prefer a working-class government."³¹

A substantial segment of the San Francisco electorate apparently agreed with Furuseth. On Election

In the early decades of the twentieth century, San Francisco would be a union town.

Day Schmitz emerged with forty-two percent of the vote, winning an easy plurality over Wells and Tobin. Most of the Union Labor candidate's support came from the region South of Market Street—Market Street was always considered the social dividing line between working-class and middle-class districts—where Schmitz polled almost three-fifths of the ballots (Table 1). The musician also ran well in the city's western suburban districts, where many skilled artisans resided, and in the waterfront area, the stamping ground of many sailors and unskilled laborers, carrying these districts with approximately forty-five percent of the vote. Only in

the outlying districts north of Market Street, where the homes of the middle and upper classes predominated, did Schmitz fare poorly. Less than a third of the ballots in these neighborhoods were cast for Schmitz.³²

As these results demonstrate, the events of 1901 and the entry of the Union Labor party into the political arena had polarized the San Francisco electorate. This can be seen even more clearly in the statistics compiled by Steven Eric comparing the election of 1901 to the two mayoral elections immediately preceding it in 1898 and 1899. In those contests, in which the then-popular Phelan had been elected, the difference between the average percentage of the vote cast for Phelan in working-class districts and in the middle and upper-class districts was only four percent (1898) and six percent (1899). In 1901, the difference between the Union Labor party vote in working-class and in middle and upper-class districts was twenty-three percent (Table 2). Eric also found an extremely high correlation between the Union Labor party vote and areas of working-class residence.³³

This is not to say that the labor ticket did not draw support from other segments of the populace. Without at least some inroads into the middle-class vote, it is unlikely that Schmitz would have emerged

Table 1: Election Returns—1901 Mayoral Race
(by percentage)

Neighborhood	Assembly Districts	Republicans	Democrats	Union Labor
South of Market	28-33	21.5%	19.5%	59.0%
Artisan Suburbs	34-36	30.9	23.5	45.6
Waterfront	44-45	33.7	21.6	44.7
North of Market	37-43	43.1	28.0	28.9
Total City Vote		34.0	24.3	41.7

Source: San Francisco *Bulletin*, November 3, 1901. For a breakdown by assembly district, see Tygiel, "Workingmen in San Francisco," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), p. 369.

Table 2: Comparison of Votes for Union Labor and Democratic Parties, 1898-1911

Year	Election	Party	Mean Assembly Districts %	Mean Working-Class Assembly Districts %	Mean Middle- and Upper-Class Assembly Districts %	Difference in Mean Assembly Districts %
1898	Mayoralty	Democrat	53	55	51	4
1899	Mayoralty	Democrat	58	61	55	6
1901	Mayoralty	Union Labor	44	54	31	23
1902	Governor	Democrat	58	65	50	15
1903	Mayoralty	ULP	45	55	34	21
1904	President	Democrat	28	32	24	8
1905	Mayoralty	ULP	59	69	47	22
1906	Governor	Democrat	33	38	26	12
1907	Mayoralty	ULP	36	45	19	26
1908	President	Democrat	37	43	29	14
1909	Mayoralty	ULP	50	61	36	25
1910	Governor	Democrat	42	39	45	6
1911	Mayoralty	ULP ^a	37	47	24	23

^a In this non-partisan election, the Union Labor Party was not officially on the ballot. This column refers to the vote for P. H. McCarthy, who had been elected mayor on the Union Labor ticket two years earlier.

Source: Steven Phillip Eric, "The Development of Class and Ethnic Politics in San Francisco, 1870-1910: A Critique of the Pluralist Interpretation," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), 213-14.

Note: Eric defines the working-class assembly districts as 28-36; middle- and upper-class assembly districts are 37-44.

victorious. Part of this support undoubtedly came from former allies in the Republican Primary League, though probably not as much as Ruef later claimed.³⁴ Other endorsements probably came from people who rejected the anti-union attitudes of the Employers' Association and opposed the policies of the Phelan Administration during the waterfront conflict. These voters, many of whom came to the aid of the strikers throughout the summer, continued their support at the ballot box. The moderate platform and the conservative nature of the Schmitz candidacy helped to allay any fears these people might have had of "class government." Although Schmitz won the election with only forty-two percent of the ballots, there is little doubt that he garnered the support of many non-labor voters to become the popular choice in the election. Had the race been a two-way rather than a three-way contest, Schmitz almost certainly would have won with a clear majority. Wells, the Republican candidate who was his nearest competitor, would have had to siphon off more than two-thirds of the Democratic vote to defeat Schmitz, a highly improbable scenario.³⁵

The major factor in the Union Labor triumph was the relative unity of the working-class vote. Forged into a common alliance by

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the frustrations of the waterfront struggle, San Francisco workingmen voted overwhelmingly to place a labor government in city hall.³⁶ The Union Labor triumph, however, was not without its irony, for the workers had placed their faith in a labor party headed by two Republican businessmen. Without the smooth, professional help of Ruef and the personal attractiveness of Schmitz, the Union Labor party probably would have met with failure.

The lack of radicalism in the platform and the moderate nature of the Schmitz candidacy notwithstanding, the election of 1901 remains a clear example of class-conscious political action. The two

major issues at stake were ones of primary concern to labor. First, the election provided a kind of referendum regarding the policies of the Employers' Association and the right of unions, not merely to organize, but to establish the closed shop. In choosing Schmitz, the San Francisco electorate demonstrated its support for the labor movement. Secondly, and more importantly, the citizenry voted on who should control government—labor or capital. As indicated by Furuseth's reasons for publicly supporting the party, workingmen had come to realize that "class government" did exist in San Francisco and that elections were a struggle for power between laborers and businessmen. The extreme polarization of the vote demonstrates that these issues were clearly perceived by the San Francisco electorate in 1901, and the election merely reaffirmed what had been established by the waterfront conflict. In the early decades of the twentieth century, San Francisco would be a union town.

For the next decade the Union Labor Party remained an influential force on the San Francisco political scene. Beset by attacks from local newspapers and employer associations, alternately attracting and repelling the support of labor leaders, and the target of one of the most con-



Former president of the Musicians' Union, Eugene Schmitz received a plurality of the mayoral vote in 1901. Re-elected in 1903 and 1905, Schmitz (holding envelope) and other city officials petitioned Congress for earthquake relief funds in 1907. CHS, San Francisco

certed graft prosecutions in the nation's history, the Union Labor party survived and, for the most part, flourished until 1911. Schmitz easily won re-election in 1903. In 1905 he triumphed again despite the opposition of a fusion candidate sponsored by both the Democrats and Republicans. The 1905 election, which coincided with a virulent open-shop campaign by the Citizens' Alliance, a new employer federation, resulted in success for not only the mayor, but for the entire Union Labor ticket. This victory, however, led to the collapse of the Schmitz-Ruef machine. The corruption which had simmered beneath the surface during the first four years now boiled over

into public view. The graft scandals drove Schmitz from city hall and banished Ruef to San Quentin. But the Union Labor party was far from dead. As the city rose from the ashes of the 1906 earthquake and fire, the party witnessed its own regeneration under the leadership of its former antagonist, P. H. McCarthy. After unsuccessfully heading the ticket in 1907, McCarthy led the Union Labor party back into city hall in 1909.³⁷ This longevity amidst adversity demonstrated by the Union Labor party represents a remarkable political achievement.

The repeated triumphs of the party cannot be attributed to the concerted actions of organized la-

bor. True, once the Union Labor party had been established, most San Francisco labor leaders abandoned their former adherence to non-partisanship. But non-support or opposition often continued, with personality more than principle being at issue. The relationships between the Union Labor party and two of San Francisco's most prominent union leaders, P. H. McCarthy and Michael Casey, provide cases in point.

McCarthy, the fabled "labor baron" of the Building Trades Council, vociferously opposed the Schmitz candidacy in 1901. By 1903 he had switched his allegiance from the Democrats to the Republican party, but he continued to excoriate



Riding to his trial with men possibly identified as businessman R. Spreckels and detective William Burns, Abe Ruef was finally convicted of extortion and sent to San Quentin. The ULP survived the blow and returned to municipal power in 1909. *CHS, San Francisco*

the union musician. In the highly charged election of 1905, however, McCarthy changed his tune. For the first time he threw the money and influence of the Building Trades Council behind the Schmitz candidacy, sharing a measure of credit for the Union Labor party's overwhelming electoral triumph. When the graft scandals brought the Schmitz mayoralty tumbling down, McCarthy picked up the fallen banner. In 1907 he failed in his bid for mayor as the candidate of the Union Labor party, but two years later he ran again. Behind a solid phalanx of labor support and an assist from business interests opposed to the vigorous graft prosecution, he led the party to a

remarkable resurgence, carrying eleven of fifteen party candidates for supervisor into office with him. Over the course of eight years McCarthy had moved from open opposition to whole-hearted support and then to party standard-bearer.³⁸

Michael Casey's political odyssey was even more wayward. President of the Teamsters' union and the City Front Federation, Casey had been a relatively early backer of Schmitz in 1901. As a reward Schmitz named him to head the Board of Public Works. His first dalliance with the Union Labor party, however, was curtailed by Ruef's growing power over the party apparatus. Rather than retreat into non-partisanship, Casey be-

came one of the organizers of the Union Labor Central Club, which attempted to seize control of the party. When the personal popularity of Schmitz prevented this takeover in the 1903 primaries, Casey threw his endorsement to the Democratic candidate. Casey found himself back in the Union Labor camp in 1905, but two years later he refused to endorse McCarthy due to differences over the graft prosecution. By 1909 the coolness between the two had abated, and Casey, like virtually all of the city's labor leaders, campaigned for the building trades baron.³⁹

The contortions of San Francisco's labor leadership with regard to the Union Labor party have led

historians to minimize the role of class in the party's fortunes and to emphasize foibles of personality.

But throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, the one constant in the San Francisco political scene was the continued support for the Union Labor mayoral candidate by the blue-collar electorate. The basis for this support was the continued perception by workers that they stood to benefit by having a labor government in city hall. In each of the mayoral elections which involved the Union Labor party, this issue of class benefits loomed as a decisive factor.

As mayor, Schmitz took few overt actions which could be construed as pro-labor, but his very presence at the helm of city government proved significant. Open-shop advocates, for instance, could expect no backing from city hall. According to muckraker Ray Stannard Baker, "No employer in San Francisco would dare make a real fight, knowing that if it came to the point of using non-union men extensively, the attitude of the Mayor would defeat him."⁴⁰ During his first year in office Schmitz faced a major test when workers on the street railways struck for union recognition. The company hired special police to ride "shot-gun" on the streetcars, but Schmitz

In 1910 the party was legislated out of existence when the voters approved . . . non-partisan balloting in San Francisco.

denied them permits to carry weapons. Within a week the strike was settled in favor of the union. In 1906, when union seamen were locked out of their jobs, the mayor refused to step up police protection for non-union seamen on the waterfront. Throughout the reign of the Union Labor party, in fact, most labor disputes were settled to the advantage of the workers. To a great extent, this was due to the prevailing economic prosperity in San Francisco at the time, but the existence of a labor mayor was not an unimportant factor, a fact not lost upon the working-class electorate.⁴¹

"A union mayor can be of little service to unionism," observed

Baker, "except in the case of a strike, when he can refuse to call out the police to protect non-union labor. Both potentially and actually this is a very great power."⁴² The police controversy had brought the Union Labor party to power and, perhaps more than any other issue, it kept the party in power. The police debate was particularly significant in the election of 1905, when the Citizens' Alliance backed the effort to depose Schmitz. The events of 1901 remained "a lively ghost during this campaign," recalled ex-Congressman Edward J. Livernash: "While I detested Eugene Schmitz and Abe Ruef, whenever the shadow of a policeman killing a union man arises, then Schmitz looms high. The unions believe that while he is in power, the police will not be at the beck and call of Sansome Street."⁴³ The issue also echoed through the mayoral campaigns of McCarthy in 1907 and 1909.⁴⁴

Union Labor candidates often tried to play down the working-class background of the party in order to appeal to a broader cross-section of the electorate. But this reality was always brought to the forefront by local newspapers and employers who approached each campaign as a crusade to recapture city hall from the labor heathens within. The conservative utterances of McCarthy and Schmitz



Elected mayor in 1909 under the ULP banner, Building Trades leader P. H. McCarthy ran for re-election in 1911. His campaign literature claimed a life "devoted to the task of improving the condition of the wage-earning masses and to preservation of industrial peace." *CHS, San Francisco*

notwithstanding, few questioned whom they stood for and whom their election would benefit.

Finally the role of class in the career of the Union Labor party may be seen in an analysis of the balloting itself. In each of the mayoral elections between 1901 and 1911, the Union Labor candidate received a plurality of the votes in the working-class districts; only in the two losing elections of 1907 and 1911 did it receive less than a clear majority. In each of these contests the correlation between residence in working-class districts and votes for the Union Labor party was extremely strong.⁴⁵ Perhaps more significantly, sharp polarization characterized balloting differences

between worker districts and those of the middle and upper classes in this decade. In all of the elections involving the labor party, from twenty-one percent to twenty-six percent more voters in working-class districts than in middle-class and upper-class districts voted for the Union Labor party candidate. During this same period the differences expressed in state and federal contests, in which working-class districts usually voted the Democratic ticket, ranged from only six to fifteen percent (Table 2). In the mayoral campaigns class remained the important and, at times, the decisive factor.

The election of McCarthy as mayor in 1909 marked the final

Union Labor victory. In 1910 the party was legislated out of existence when the voters approved a city charter amendment which introduced non-partisan balloting to San Francisco. Nonetheless, when McCarthy ran for re-election in 1911, it was clear that he ran as the candidate of the Union Labor party. His opponent was "Sunny Jim" Rolph, the most talented political campaigner in San Francisco history. Rolph was the ultimate "fusion" candidate. He won support from both Democrats and Republicans, virtually all of the city's business associations, and many of San Francisco's labor leaders (whose long-standing antipathy toward McCarthy resur-

faced). Proclaiming that he would be "Mayor of All the People," Rolph played down the significance of labor representation in government. On election day, an overwhelming majority of the San Francisco balloters accepted this pledge. McCarthy managed to poll only thirty-seven percent of the vote.⁴⁶

Rolph's triumph was not unexpected. For the second time, the city's political establishment had created a fusion ticket to depose the Union Labor party. The first effort in 1905 had proved disastrous, when Schmitz polled fifty-nine percent of the vote. In that case, however, fusion candidate John S. Partridge had been avowedly anti-union. In contrast, Rolph's position on labor issues differed little from that of McCarthy, the "boss" of the building trades. Although a banker and a shipowner, Rolph had not supported the Employers' Association in the 1901 waterfront strike, still the critical event in determining the voting loyalties of many workingmen. As president of the Shipowners' Association, he had initiated an era of harmonious relations with the maritime unions. The class issue was therefore less in evidence in 1911 than in any other election since 1899. As a result,

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Rolph could reconstruct the political alliance that had proven so successful for Mayor Phelan before the latter had alienated the labor vote. Backed by solid middle-class and upper-class support and able to make significant inroads into the labor tally (although McCarthy still won at least a plurality in most South of Market areas), the charismatic Rolph proved an unbeatable candidate, who went on to win five mayoral elections. By 1930, when Rolph's nineteen-year-reign in San Francisco ended with his elevation to the California governor's chair, the Union Labor party was a distant memory.⁴⁷

Since the election of 1911 rang down the curtain on San Francisco's

decade of labor rule, the significance of the Union Labor era has been largely forgotten. Historians have often shied away from using social class as a critical variable for investigating the American political process, viewing party affiliations, ethnic allegiances, and campaign manipulations as the major determinants of electoral outcomes. Even in the case of the Union Labor party, where social and economic conflict was central to the existence and fortunes of a political enterprise, other factors have received prominence, while issues of class have been relegated to the background. Analysis of the San Francisco experience, however, indicates that the Union Labor party, born out of the maelstrom of industrial conflict, was a legitimate vehicle of worker protest and a labor party in substance as well as in name.

Notes

1. Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco: The Story of the Union Labor Party, Big Business, and the Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley, 1967), especially Chapters 1 and 2.
2. James P. Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Spring, 1972): 3-16.
3. General histories of the San Francisco labor movement may be found in Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement of California* (Berkeley, 1935); Robert Edward Lee Knight, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1900-1918* (Berkeley, 1960); and Jules Tygiel, "Workingmen in San Fran-

- cisco, 1880-1901," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles 1977).
4. The best account of the significance of the anti-Chinese movement for the development of the San Francisco labor movement is Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971). See also, Tygiel, pp. 61-72.
 5. For full accounts of the San Francisco labor situation in 1901 see Knight, 62-95; Cross, 239-46; Tygiel, Chapter 6; and Thomas W. Page, "The San Francisco Labor Movement in 1901," *Political Science Quarterly*, 17 (December, 1901): 644-88.
 6. *San Francisco Bulletin*, July 1, 1901.
 7. Edward J. Rowell, "The Union Labor Party of San Francisco," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Berkeley, 1937), pp. 27-28.
 8. *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 23, 1901.
 9. *Coast Seamen's Journal*, February 15, 1893.
 10. Using statistics provided by Ruef, Walsh concludes that "in a three-cornered race, the question should not have been could Schmitz win, but rather how he could lose?" (Walsh, p. 8). However, Ruef's statistics are less than convincing. He argued that union membership numbered 45,000, "practically all voters," and counted on 25,000 votes from organized labor (*San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1912). His estimate of union membership, however, is a bit high for 1901, and, as can be seen from the text, his assertion that they were practically all voters was in error. The *San Francisco Chronicle* claimed that the labor vote would be even lighter than usual in 1901 because "when workingmen out on strike were pinched by lack of employment they moved to other precincts and Assembly Districts, thus losing their registration" (October 31, 1901).
 11. *Voice of Labor*, October 7, 1899. This philosophy can be found in the various San Francisco labor journals through the 1890s. For examples, see *Coast Seamen's Journal*, February 15, 1893, September 22, 1894, December 28, 1898, and July 4, 1900; and *Organized Labor*, August 18, 1900, and June 15, 1901.
 12. Saxton, pp. 151-56.
 13. *Voice of Labor*, August 14, 1897; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, August 8, 1897; June 14, 1899; *Voice of Labor*, September 10, 1898.
 14. *Coast Seamen's Journal*, August 21, 1901.
 15. Bernard C. Cronin, *Father Yorke and the Labor Movement in San Francisco* (Washington, 1943), pp. 73, 78. Phe-lan denied that he ever said this, but the allegations alone greatly lowered his standing with the working-class electorate.
 16. Robert M. Robinson, "A history of teamsters in the San Francisco bay area," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Berkeley, 1951), p. 73; Knight, pp. 81, 85; *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 9, 1901.
 17. *Coast Seamen's Journal*, July 31, 1901; *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 17, 1901; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, October 30, 1901.
 18. Rowell, pp. 27-28.
 19. In the past the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, which professed favor for socialist principles, had described the local socialist politicians as "an overbearing set" and "ignoramuses" (February 28, 1894). In 1901 they had yet to change their opinion.
 20. The following account of Ruef's attainment of power in the Union Labor Party is drawn from Bean, pp. 19-26, and Ruef's reminiscences of the events published in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1912, and July 1, 1912.
 21. *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1912.
 22. *San Francisco Bulletin*, September 7, 1901, and Bean, p. 22.
 23. *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1912, and Bean, p. 20.
 24. Rowell, p. 44.
 25. *Organized Labor*, June 15, 1901.
 26. If the experience of the carpenters is any indication, the members of the Building Trades Council were more likely to be homeowners than were other groups of workers. Twice as many carpenters in 1900 owned their homes as did either teamsters or laborers. See Tygiel, pp. 273-86.
 27. *Organized Labor*, October 26, November 2, 1901.
 28. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22, 1901; *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 31, 1901.
 29. Rowell, pp. 52-53.
 30. *Coast Seamen's Journal*, November 13, 1901.
 31. *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 25, 1901; *Coast Seamen's Journal*, October 10, 1901. For a fuller discussion of Furu-seth's politics, see Rowell, pp. 46, 52-54.
 32. Other candidates on the Union Labor ticket did not fare as well. Only three of eighteen supervisors were elected by the party, and no other candidates succeeded. This led Bean to conclude that "Schmitz's personal magnetism had been much more compelling than the union label as such" (Bean, pp. 26-27). There is a truth to this statement, but it also should be noted that the board of supervisors, although powerless during the strike, had voted 12-4, placing the blame for the work stoppage on the Employers' Association and calling for the police to maintain "absolute impartiality" (*Coast Seamen's Journal*, August 28, 1901). In

addition, under the city charter, the mayor was the key figure in government. Capture of the board of supervisors was therefore not deemed as important as the mayor's chair.

33. Steven Phillip Eric, "The development of class and ethnic politics in San Francisco, 1870-1910: A critique of the pluralist interpretation," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), p. 217.
34. Ruef expected between 7,000 and 8,000 of the 9,500 people who had supported the Republican Primary League to switch to the Union Labor Party (*San Francisco Bulletin*, June 29, 1912). Once again, one must question his estimates. It seems unlikely that 75 to 85 percent of even a disenchanted group of Republicans would opt for a labor ticket.
35. Rowell, p. 150.
36. Despite the warnings of their leaders, it would appear that many building trades artisans favored the labor ticket. Ruef claims that a careful pre-election poll indicated that three-quarters of the building tradesmen planned to vote for Schmitz (*San Francisco Bulletin*, July 1, 1912). In the assembly districts where these artisans were likely to live, there was a high level of support for the Schmitz candidacy. See Tygiel, pp. 373-77.
37. For more complete accounts of these elections, see Bean and Rowell.
38. Knight, pp. 93, 126-27, 162-64, 197, 218, 243-44.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 126-27, 162-64, 197, 218; Bean, pp. 36-37.
40. Ray Stannard Baker, "A Corner in Labor: What is Happening in San Francisco Where Unionism Holds Undisputed Sway," *McClure's Magazine*, 22 (February, 1904): 377.



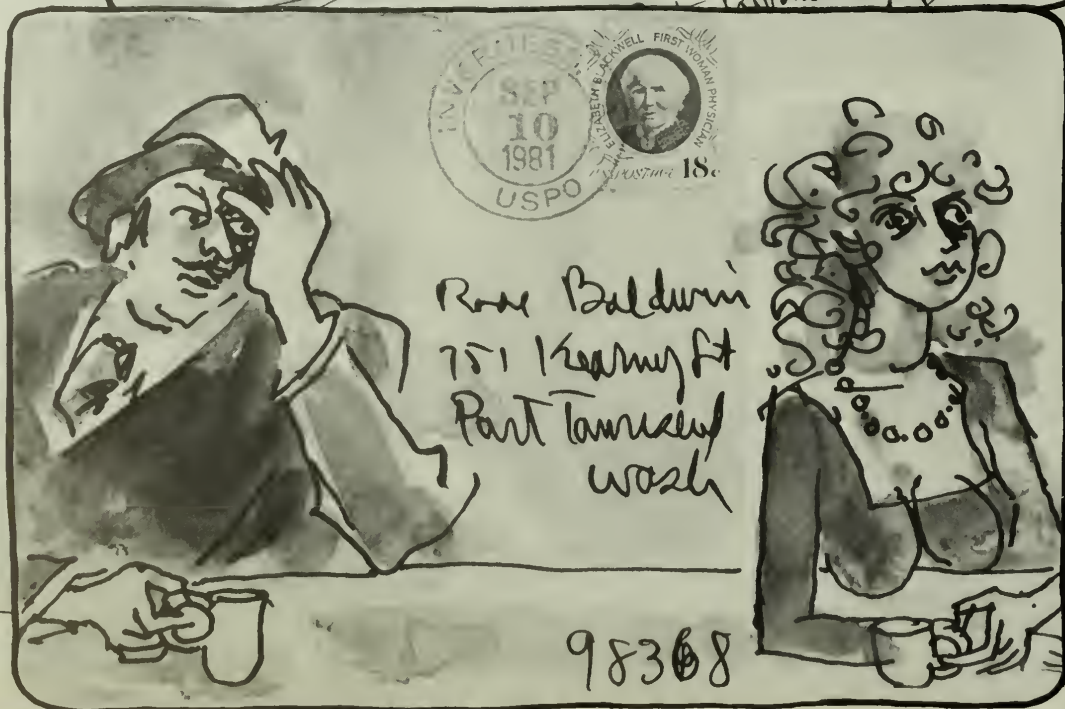
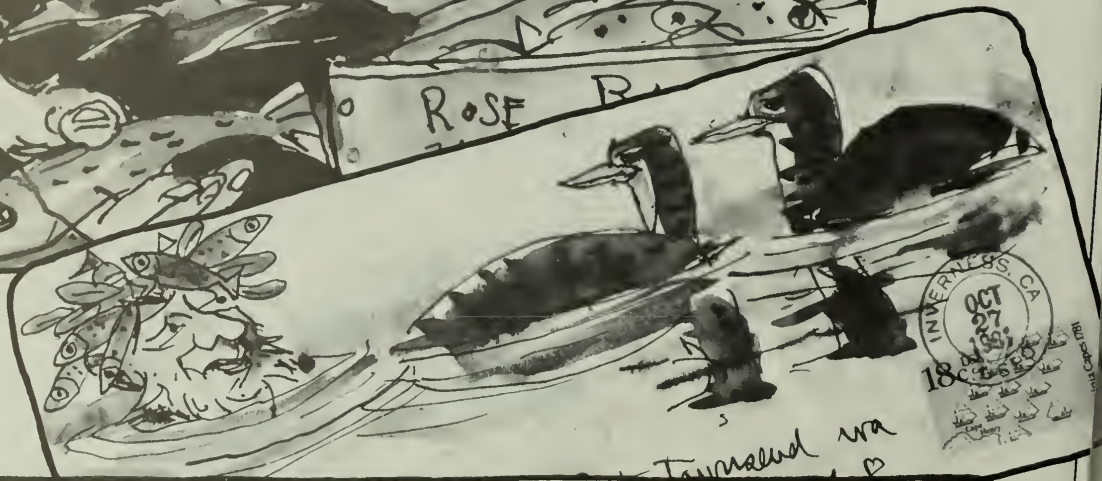
"Mayor of All the People" and fusion candidate James Rolph (at left) won Democratic and Republican party support to score a mayoral victory in 1911, thus ending a decade of labor rule in San Francisco. Bancroft Library

41. Knight, p. 120; Rowell, pp. 102, 129-33.
42. Baker, p. 377.
43. Quotes appear in Knight, p. 163, and Bean, p. 61.
44. Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, "The Labor Barony in San Francisco," in *History of Labor in the United States*, IV (New York, 1935): 75-76.
45. Eric, pp. 213-14, 217.
46. For a discussion of the 1911 election, see Carole Hicke, "The 1911 campaign of James Rolph, Jr., mayor of all the people," unpublished M.A. thesis (San Francisco State University, 1978), and Moses Rischin, "Sunny Jim Rolph: The

First 'Mayor of All the People'," *California Historical Quarterly*, LIII (Summer, 1974): 165-72.

47. Hicke, *ibid.*; see also William Issel, "Labor Radicalism, Political Economy, and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1870-1919," paper presented at the Second International Congress of North American History, Milan, Italy (June, 1979).

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THE WORLD OF *Clayton Lewis*

by J. S. Holliday



With a welcoming laugh and a strong handshake Clayton Lewis greeted his visitors. We joined him on the slanting porch which surrounds his unpainted, small yet somehow rambling house. I had come to meet him

with his friend Richard Kirschman who had told me of Clayton's rustic life, his work as a sculptor and artist and, most intriguing, his "envelope paintings."

We sat on the porch drinking wine, talking and laughing that crisp autumn day in 1982. I enjoyed Clayton's robust humor, listened to his ideas and opinions and found him to be a remarkable person—high spirited, unafraid, independent. There is a gusto about him, an exuberance which complements his appearance: hands brawny, features weathered and worn, gray beard thick, blue eyes smiling.

He lives seventy miles north of San Francisco on the shores of Tomales Bay in a house built in the 1890s, improved and enlarged by his work, with a generator for electricity but no telephone. Clayton has lived there for twenty years, some of the time working as a commercial fisherman (selling perch to Chinese restaurants in San Francisco) and all the time

as an artist and sculptor, creating for his own pleasure rather than for sale.

Below the house two great cypress trees stand at each end of thirty or so yards of reddish-sand beach. Through the branches I could see Clayton's weathered fishing launch anchored in a small cove and, drawn up on the beach, his nineteen-foot Cornish gig which he rows two miles across the bay to the post office and general store in the village of Marshall.

Clayton's world is a remote and lovely place. His house is situated at the mouth of a little valley which rises westward from the beach through a grove of eucalyptus into brush-covered hills. The wildness and isolation are soothing.

Though he was reluctant to speak of himself and his past, I persisted in asking questions about this man who looks and sounds more like a mountain man of the 1830s than an artist of the 1980s. A fragile chronology evolved which revealed his life to have been directed more by his choices than by chance. Born in 1915 in the forest country—"the out back"—east of Seattle, he felt as a boy a "congenital urge" to recreate on canvas and paper the scenes of life around him and the feelings of life within him. To gain control and confidence as an artist, he traveled to

Lewis' nearly lifesize
man-and-child sculpture.

Lewis and his fishing nets.



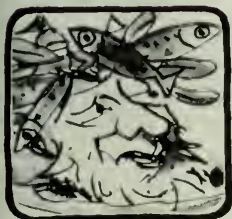
San Francisco to study at the California School of Fine Arts (later the San Francisco Art Institute). For three years from 1937 to 1940, interrupted by summers working in Washington to earn tuition money, he learned skills and draftsmanship which he has improved and expanded ever since.

In the late 1940s he ran his own business in Eugene, Oregon, designing and making furniture. His success led to his joining the Herman Miller Company in Los Angeles where he was in charge of manufacturing the renowned Charles Eames chairs. In 1953 Clayton decided to get away from business to a more

restful life. He purchased a fourteen-acre orchard-ranch near Sebastopol in Marin County, where he moved with his wife and four children.

In 1963 he found his Tomales Bay home, then an abandoned relic. Welcoming the adventure of a new life and the privacy that would allow him to concentrate on his painting and sculpture, he started the long process of strengthening and enlarging the old structure which became his home. As well, he rebuilt a nearby outbuilding to serve as his studio where, in time, he constructed his own forge for casting bronze sculptures.

Lewis' bayside home
and aging
Cornish dinghy.



By evening the chill on the porch and the end of the wine had sent us inside. Clayton began to talk about his "envelope paintings" which Richard described as "messages about life sent by Clayton to his mother."

In the room off the kitchen there is a big work table crowded with books, paint brushes and the clutter of a creative person. Here Clayton has made his mother part of his life by writing to her four or five times every week for the past two decades. She lives in Port Townsend, Washington, in a home with five other elderly ladies. Through the years Clayton's letters went off to her in ordinary envelopes, carrying vivid reports of his life—fishing adventures on the bay, storms which uprooted trees near his house, friendships and love affairs. With uncommon candor and confidence, Clayton shared his life with his mother. His letter of July 28, 1980, read in part: "... and she's too young . . . again. I told her when it became apparent that we were interested in each other: 'Go away! I need mending, not another broken heart!' But she laughed and said, 'That's just part of the high cost of living these days'."

And two days later, reflecting another mood, he wrote to his mother on July 30, 1980: "Breakfast by the Bay on my beautiful, wild beach is one recurring pleasure for me. I witness the continuous ferment at the edge of things, where the water meets the land. This morning the new sun grandly illuminates everything, apparent contradictions and all. An eternal beginning."

In that year, Clayton's communications began to take on a brilliant enlargement. First tentatively and then ever more boldly, ever more imaginatively, he painted on the front of the envelopes watercolor scenes of his life and reflections of his moods. Many times the letters inside became the vehicles for the more important messages outside. Given Clayton's earthiness, his willingness to express his feelings and wildest ideas, these envelope paintings at times shocked his mother, especially because so many other people saw the messages before she did! The ladies in her home, the mailman (and who else?) looked at the exuberant revelations of Clayton's adventures and imaginings. On occasion, Rosie (as Clayton often calls her) protested that she didn't want any more such messages. But Clayton knew that they had enlivened her life and that beneath her



**Lewis delights in part of
a new wooden sculpture.**

decorum she thrilled to her son reaching so vigorously into her life or, maybe, it was pulling her so lovingly into his life.

As he experimented with this new dimension of conversing with his mother, he sought to avoid being a self-conscious artist. Rather he wanted his communicating to be an impulsive act, like a quick kiss or a whisper.

Each morning when Clayton writes to her, he seals up his letter and faces the challenge of another envelope. Sometimes the painting will reflect what he has just written—for instance, a letter describing a trip to San Francisco prompts an envelope showing the automobile dominating modern man. Other envelopes offer whimsical self-portraits—Clayton as a portrait painter with the stamp, the face of a woman, pasted on the easel, or Clayton swimming near his beach with a pair of loons.

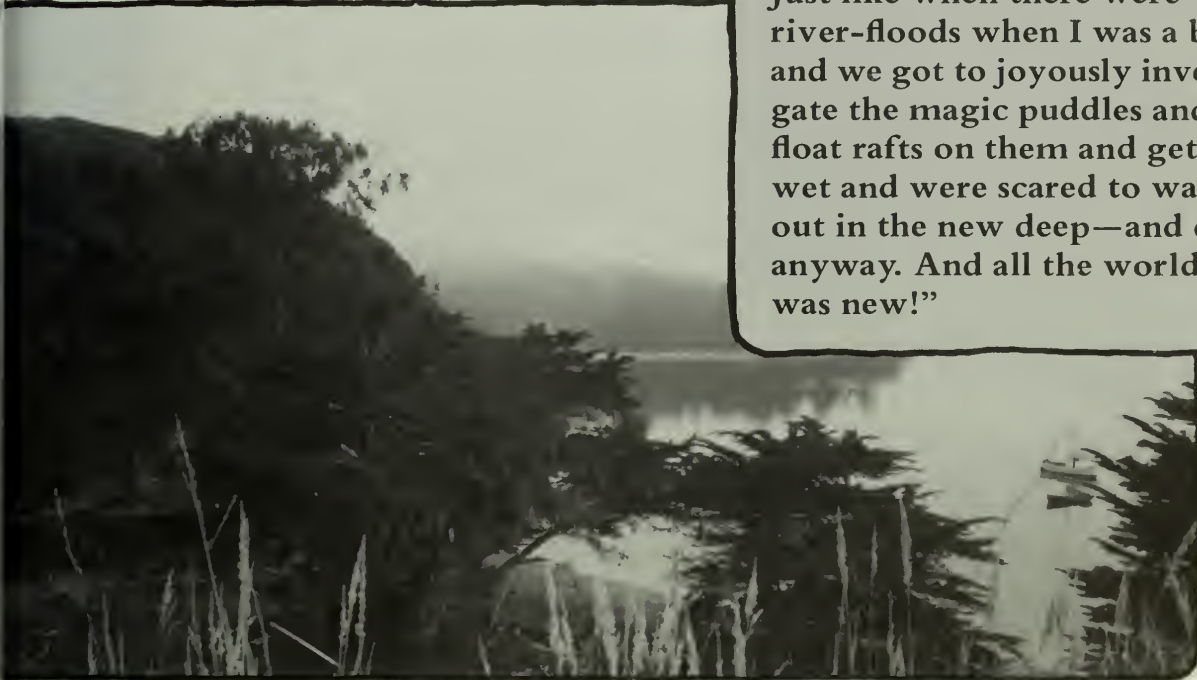
Talking about his “philatelic illuminations,” he reflected on another occasion that as much as he hoped they would enliven his mother’s life and help her enjoy his world, he also creates them for his own pleasure and to discover what the freedom of his mind can produce. He acknowledged the frustration of being limited to the space on a 4-by-6 or 4-by-8 inch piece of paper. No matter what whimsy, what allegory, what autobiographical revelation flashes into his mind, always he is confined to the unrelentingly small space—but that, too, is part of the fun.



It is surprising what variations and extremes can be contrived and squeezed onto an envelope, with the only requirement being a legible address and a zip code number. Sometimes Clayton writes his mother’s name, address, and zip code along the very bottom of the picture, other times that information is compressed sideways. Best of all are those inventions wherein he makes the address a part of the scene. On one envelope a hobo hikes along a lonely country road toward a large billboard on which is printed, “Mrs. Rose Baldwin, Kai Tai Care Center, Port Townsend, WA. 98368.” Another shows a crowd of people on a sidewalk: the man in the foreground carries a suitcase on which is printed “Rose Baldwin” and her address; next to him is another man whose briefcase is embellished with her zip code number; and on the far right stands a woman whose face is that of the woman on an eighteen-cent stamp.

Many times Clayton uses the stamp or the cancellation mark as an integral part of the picture story. For instance, one envelope has the face of a man staring out with two cancellation marks for his eyes. Another shows three demonstrators on a sidewalk, two of them nailing up wall posters reading “Revolt,” “Beware,” “Enlist,” “Go!” and a girl holding high her poster, which is the stamp for the

The wooded shore of Tomales Bay
with Lewis' fishing boat at anchor.



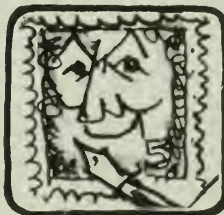
"What's new? Well, there's a seven foot-plus tide right now that floods my yard with sea water. And that's refreshing! Just like when there were river-floods when I was a boy and we got to joyously investigate the magic puddles and float rafts on them and get wet and were scared to wade out in the new deep—and did anyway. And all the world was new!"

envelope — a stamp which reads "LOVE."

What a wonderful, whimsical world Clayton has created for his mother, for the postal people who help deliver his messages from the small post offices in Inverness and Marshall, California, to the one in Port Townsend, and for the people in that town who have come to know of Clayton's astonishing envelopes and look forward to seeing or hearing about his latest, possibly outrageous painting.

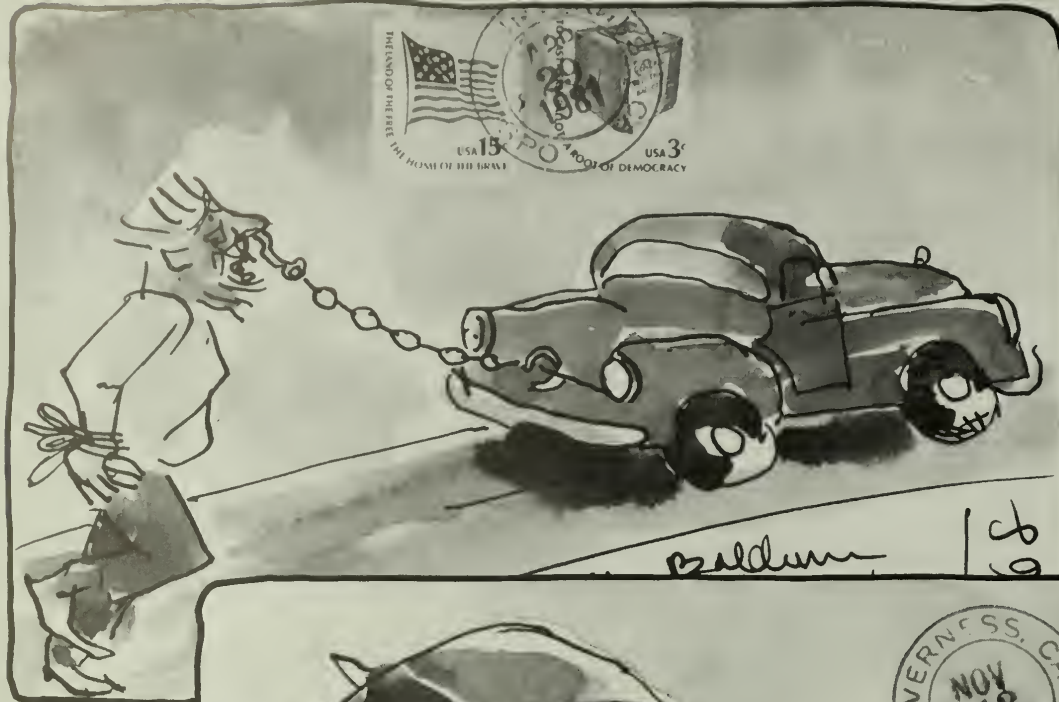
Suggesting the boldness with which Clayton faces both the post office and his mother are the many naked women—all Reubenesque figures—who grace his envelopes, some of them floating in the sky, others lolling 'midst lush green hills or sprawling shamelessly beside the formality of a postage stamp. And men cavort nakedly too. The most delightful example, sent to his mother to celebrate his own birthday, shows Clayton, vividly naked, legs and arms wildly spread, running across a field of green—the words "Happy Birthday" explaining his

costume. That the vast, all-powerful postal system continues to deliver envelopes which must come close to violating an entire set of rules and arcane regulations is surprising.



To take his letters to the post office in Marshall, Clayton rows across the bay where he presents his latest creation to the postmistress. She obligingly places the cancellation mark exactly where he wants it: 'No, a little farther to the left.' "Yes, right there, on the tip of his nose." What a pleasure it must be to see Clayton coming into that post office, or the one in Inverness where the postmaster is also an ally in this unusual art form.

In all, Clayton has sent his mother more than 400 envelope paintings in the last three years. She has saved them and recently returned them to her son.



What a testament they are to his magical creativity and most of all—to his boyish yet grown-up love for his mother.

It is not only Clayton the artist who pleases. His letters are also vivid reflections of this man who enjoys life and shares his enjoyments so generously. Consider this, from a letter dated August 10, 1981: "This morning it seems the world is full of Monday—

again! So many things to recommence, to cultivate, to complete, to dispose of (an avalanche of remembrance to control and persuade) and I think I could do without Mondays entirely. Could you? Though I love you on Mondays, too."

Or the letter of December 11, 1981: "What's new? Well, there's a seven-foot plus tide right now that floods my yard with sea water. And that's refreshing!



Rose Baldwin
751 Kearny St
Port Townsend Washington

Just like when there were river-floods when I was a boy and we got to joyously investigate the magic puddles and float rafts on them and get wet and were scared to wade out in the new deep—and did anyway. And all the world was new!”

And one more: November 19, 1981: “Very often I have a fixed image that I’m trying to articulate on the envelopes I paint in the mornings for you. And very often it’s an exercise in getting un-fixed. That is, it’s often difficult for me to relax my rigid notions and let a thing be born without prejudice, without censorship. Maybe, if I live long enough, I’ll get to be the child I aspire to be.”

A man reaching out to his mother, and more—reaching out to himself and exploring what life is all about. That is Clayton Lewis, a man of size in his vision and his feeling. □

Dr. Holliday, author of *The World Rushed In—The California Gold Rush Experience* (Simon & Schuster; hardbound, 1981 and quality paperback, 1983), is the Executive Director of the California Historical Society.

Photographs courtesy Richard Kirschman

“In the course of my concern and love, I have written you rather steadily over the past two years—trying to find some touchstone to a rather sensitive area for us both: what is a congenial setting for us both to grow older in? For our society isn’t sympathetic to growing older and we, for better or worse, inherit our society’s conditions. Personally I resent those conditions, and I think you do too. I disagree with the prevailing custom to retire older people away from a useful existence, away from the mainstream of life. I think you must too. How can we change? I’d like to have some of your thoughts on this subject.”

—Letter, New Year’s Eve, 1981

“Clayton’s World,” an exhibition of Clayton Lewis’ envelope paintings, early oil paintings, and sculptures, is on display until January 15, 1984, at the CHS Whittier Mansion, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco

REVIEWS

James J. Rawls, *Reviews Editor*

Sara Bard Field, Poet and Suffragist.

Oral history by Amelia Fry, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. With an introduction by Dorothy Erskine and an afterword by Katherine Field Caldwell. (xix, 661 pp.)

Reviewed by Irving R. Cohen, Mill Valley novelist and film critic who has served with the national and Northern California boards of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is writing a biography of Erskine Scott Wood.

A biographical map of the United States based only on published biographies would be akin to a map that showed only major freeways and ignored the rich byways defining the interior of a region. So the unpublished oral histories of Sara Bard Field and other important Californians at the Regional Oral History Office tell us a good deal about the fabric of our times and the people who shaped them.

Born in 1882, Field's active life began in 1911 when, as the wife of a Baptist missionary, she led the successful campaign for equal suffrage in Oregon. In 1915, she left the Panama-Pacific International Exposition grounds in San Francisco in an open touring car and drove across the United States, making speeches for equal suffrage as she went and collecting four million signatures on a suffrage petition she presented to President Wilson.

Yet, as the title of Field's oral history suggests, she was not only an activist. Some of San Francisco's finest small

presses published her poems beginning in the 1920s, and in 1932, the Commonwealth Club awarded Field its gold medal for her book-length poem, *Barrabas*.

Although poetry is among the most solitary of obsessions, Field spent the most productive years of her life working with another poet, Charles Erskine Scott Wood. Max Eastman called their relationship "the love story of the century."

Field and Wood were radicals, philosophical anarchists aptly characterized as "unafraid Jeffersonians." Fighting against the repressions of World War I, they were civil libertarians before most Americans knew the term. Field spoke in public on behalf of convicted dynamiter Tom Mooney at a time when his guilt was as much taken for granted as the belief that no "nice" woman would attach herself to such a cause. In the early 1930s, Field and Wood helped Helen Salz and Ernest Besig found the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California.

A fitting partner for Field, Wood was a poet, painter, essayist (his collection *Heavenly Discourse* became an American classic after publication in 1927), and friend of such noted figures of his day as Lincoln Steffens, Emma Goldman, John Reed, and the "American Impressionists," Weir, Hassam, and Ryder. Another friend, Clarence Darrow, was instrumental in introducing Wood to Field when she was still married. A few years later, Steffens, Wood, Darrow, and liberal publisher Fremont Older bought land to and finally, Santa Fe. Her themes, commune in the Santa Clara Valley.

These webs of relationships are usually left in the background by historians, but oral histories let us know the

people and hear the voices of the past once again. (The word rhythms on the pages of transcripts are those of speech, not writing; the same material, if it were part of a biography or autobiography, would be shaped and reshaped.)

Many of the 500 oral histories on file at the Regional Oral History Office are doubly interesting because their subjects' lives weave together:

Imogene Cunningham, photographer, heard Charles Erskine Scott Wood deliver an argument for socialism at her high school graduation in Seattle. Rutch Cravath, sculptor, studied with Ralph Stackpole and Benny Bufano and taught at the California School of Fine Arts. Elsie Whitaker Martinez, writer, knew Jack London, Xavier Martinez, and Ambrose Bierce. (Franklin D. Walker said that like Mark Twain, she was "prone to remember more than what happened.") Benjamin Lehman, Chairman of the Department of English at the University of California at Berkeley, included in his oral history a photograph of Charles Erskine Scott Wood with Charlie Chaplin, taken at Noel Sullivan's house.

Lehman also met Chaplin at The Cats, Field and Wood's Los Gatos home, which Lincoln Steffens referred to as "The Woods and Fields." For the twenty years that the couple lived there, the great and near-great of the country drove up the steep incline to their door. Ralph Stackpole designed and executed the pair of huge cats at the estate entrance (still to be glimpsed as one leaves Los Gatos to climb up Route 17 towards Santa Cruz). Walter Steilberg designed the house. Ray Boynton contributed a painting later transformed into a mural, and Benny



Bufano executed the fountain in the courtyard.

Over the years, among those who came to talk and drink the wine made at The Cats were Stephen Vincent Benét, Judith Anderson, John Garfield, Fremont Older, Genvieve Taggard, and Yehudi Menuhin (who in 1942, with his cellist and pianist, played trios in the living room of The Cats as a Christmas gift to Field and Wood). John Steinbeck read a new short story aloud there, and Eleanor Roosevelt insisted on walking its paths. Even Robinson Jeffers left his beloved Carmel to visit.

Sara Bard Field's memories, as elicited by skillful interviewer Amelia Fry, are brought to bear on a wide range of topics in this oral history. The only caveat this reviewer offers is the one applying to all oral histories, and autobiographies as well. Regardless of intent, subjects tend to re-interpret the past as well as remember it. As new attitudes and beliefs take the place of old ones, that past is sifted through a new net of undocumentable feelings. Field, for example, speaks of the attitudes and early halcyon days of loving Wood, but their correspondence (at the Huntington Library in San Marino)

gives a much different picture of her attempts to balance the needs of love against those of freedom.

The caveat is but a small one. The redemption of the past through oral histories such as this one of Sara Bard Field gives dimension to history, making it the voices of those who lived, rather than words on printed page.

Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West.

By Peter E. Palmquist, Foreword by Martha A. Sandweiss. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press for the Amon Carter Museum, 1983. xi, 83 pp., 102 plates, \$70.00.)

*Reviewed by Douglas M. Haller,
CHS Curator of Photographs, archivist and historian, lecturer, and frequent contributor to the CHS Courier.*

Much has been written about Carleton E. Watkins' photographs but little about the man and his career. Peter

Palmquist's book unites the man, his career, and his photographs into a coherent biography for the first time since Watkins' friend Charles Turrill made an attempt in 1918. The reader may survey Watkins' career over its fifty-year span as the pioneer photographer documented the West from Southern California to British Columbia and east to Arizona.

That Watkins' famous 1861 views of Yosemite inspired Congress to preserve the wilderness for all time is a well-known fact, but not even the well-read have known that the photographer made numerous visits to the Valley over a span of many years and that the resulting photographs testify not only to "the eloquence of his vision" but to the change in his vision wrought by time and experience. Nor has it been widely known that Yosemite represented a fraction of a career which embraced architectural and industrial images, courtroom evidence, land surveys for business speculators, important commissions by governmental and private patrons, and even commercial portraiture—the mainstay of many photographers. Watkins is credited with the first systematic photographic survey of California's mission architecture. His photography interpreted California and the West to the nation and world, and thereby he helped to settle the West. Watkins is revealed as an artist and a documentarian who utilized inventiveness and technical skill to develop a breadth of vision unequalled among nineteenth-century American Western photographers.

Palmquist's study serves as a catalogue for the Amon Carter Museum's exhibition of the same name which is currently touring the country. The

The 'Trenor W. Park party, "In Camp No. 3, Yosemite," a rare glass stereograph made by Watkins in 1861. CHS, San Francisco

book has been recommended to Watkins' enthusiasts as well as anyone interested in the history of photography. This recommendation fails to recognize an important feature of the book: its use to field professionals such as archivists and curators, historians and librarians. Not since the Fall 1978 issue of *California History* devoted itself to Watkins' career has such an invaluable aid been provided for those whose duty it is to collect and interpret vintage Watkins photographs.

Palmquist's book is lavishly illustrated with 102 plates, many full-page, and numerous additional text illustrations. Each is large, clear, and sepia-toned to approximate the original albumen prints. If this were not help enough to the individual who cannot visit many repositories, or even visit the exhibition, in order to gain a knowledge of Watkins' *œuvre*, each illustration is provided with a title (known or supplied for convenience), type of photographic medium, size, distinguishing characteristics, date, and location (repository or owner). In these days of vanishing captions such careful identifications are greatly appreciated.

The text is provided with ample footnotes which are actually notes at the foot of the page! As such they are a wonderful convenience for the careful reader. The notes provide such engaging items of information as the fact that Watkins' middle name is disputed, with suggestions of "Emmons" and "Eugene" being offered.

A crowning achievement of Palmquist's work is a Chronology, the Appendices, a Bibliography, and an Index, scholarly features which qualify Mr. Palmquist as the foremost authority on C. E. Watkins.



The real significance of this new Watkins book lies not only in the information it conveys but in the interest it stimulates and the research it initiates. As a result of inquiries about the thirteen photographs loaned for exhibition from the CHS collection (as well as the sixteen reproduced in the book), one item has been reidentified (see *CHS Courier* for June 1983). Most thrilling was the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company's decision to reproduce the "Panorama of San Francisco" as a 30 x 7 foot mural at its new headquarters (see *CHS Courier* for August 1983). This resulted from publicity surrounding its selection for the Amon Carter exhibition and Peter Palmquist's book. These accomplishments speak more eloquently of the value of exhibiting and publishing vintage photographs than anything this pen could write.

Reagan.

By Lou Cannon. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982. 464 pp., \$18.95.)

California Dreaming: The

Political Odyssey of Pat and Jerry Brown.

By Roger Rapoport. (Berkeley: Nolo Press, 1982. xv, 303 pp., \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Jackson K. Putnam, Professor of History, California State University, Fullerton.

These two books written respectively by a professional journalist and a free-lance author are very valuable to the historian. Based on close, firsthand observations of their subjects, extensive interviews with them and many of their associates, and a fairly wide reading of public records, the books provide many fascinating insights into the careers of Ronald Reagan and the Browns. Both authors are generally sympathetic to their protagonists, but they do not refrain from making critical, sometimes devastating, comments about them as well. Students of history, especially California history, can profit greatly from both books.

Cannon, who thoroughly traces

Reagan's career from childhood to the presidency, became deeply familiar with Reagan's governorship as a Sacramento correspondent for the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain and with Reagan's national political activities as White House correspondent for the *Washington Post*. In the process Cannon has perhaps grown too close to his subject. Despite many disclosures of administrative and policy-making incompetence, he usually evaluates Reagan's performance positively. As governor, Cannon reveals, Reagan scarcely governed at all in the usual sense until his personal involvement in welfare reform (his greatest claim to fame) during his second administration. His second greatest achievement, fiscal reform, amounted to a direct repudiation of his ideological commitment to tax and expenditure reduction. Nevertheless, Cannon concludes that Reagan "began his public career as a novice, ineffective governor and ended up a good one." Looking at Reagan's presidency, Cannon forthrightly reveals Reagan's intellectual sloth and his reliance on ideology rather than ideas and facts (his favorite magazines are *Reader's Digest* and *Human Events*), but Cannon manages to elevate these traits into virtues: "His ignorance was his armor, shielding him from harsh realities which might have discouraged some of his boldest initiatives. . . ."

Rapoport seems more objective, even cynical on occasion, about Pat and Jerry Brown, but his central thesis is open to question. He asserts that both father and son were exceedingly pragmatic on major political issues and often fence-straddlers and side-switchers as well, but the record indicates to this reviewer that Pat Brown was a fairly consistent liberal on most issues

and that Jerry was consistent only in his inconsistency. The data on Pat is very useful, for, unlike his son, little has been written about him, especially about his family background and pre-gubernatorial career. California historians are in Rapoport's debt for filling in many important details. The book also has many printing and editorial deficiencies; it lacks a table of contents, quotations are mishandled, the documentation method is grossly inadequate, and some important statements of fact are not documented at all. However, the author writes in a sprightly fashion (as does Cannon), and the book contains many cogent observations on the California political scene.

Taken together, these two books provide the reader with a fairly comprehensive grasp of California political history during the past quarter-century. If the authors make judgments with which the reader disagrees, he should nevertheless appreciate that the books present a solid set of facts upon which honest disagreement can be based.

*The Gentle Dynamiter:
A Biography of
Tom Mooney.*

By Estolv E. Ward. (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1983. 302 pp. \$15.00 hard.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Frost, Professor of History, Colgate University; Author of The Mooney Case (Stanford University Press, 1968) and "Thomas J. Mooney," Dictionary of American Biography; and a former fellow at the Center for the History of

American Indians, Newberry Library, Chicago.

This is the sixth book on the San Francisco Preparedness Day bomb cases of 1916-1939. In most essentials Ward shares the perspective of all the other authors: Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were innocent; they were arrested because they were active labor radicals; they were framed with perjury, railroaded by an unscrupulous district attorney, and convicted in a climate of prejudice. They were victims of political trials.

Ward offers an important new point about Mooney's career. He states that Tom privately admitted, "after there was nothing to be gained or lost by frankness," that "he had been a dynamiter, a saboteur of industrial installations," though he was careful not to endanger lives (pp. 61-62). In view of Mooney's suspect behavior and repeated trials for alleged dynamiting of PG&E power towers in 1913, this is entirely plausible. One only wishes that Ward were less vague about the circumstances: to whom and when did Mooney say that? Was it in connection with the PG&E strike, as the author implies?

On the whole, the strength of this book lies not in its legal history, which is superficial, but in the author's sketches of many of the people involved, particularly during the final years. Ward was a Bay Area journalist, court reporter, and CIO organizer in the 1930s; he met Mooney in 1935, and saw him frequently thereafter. His sketch of Mooney's life in San Quentin is insightful; so are his descriptions of Mooney's mother and his wife, Rena. His portrayal of the pardon ceremony in 1939 is the best I have ever read.



Ward says that governor Culbert L. Olson was tempted to postpone the pardon, so that he might expect better cooperation from the conservative state senate for his legislative program. Olson had to be nudged back to the path of duty by a delegation of labor leaders (pp. 249-50)—a significant consideration that escaped previous authors.

Ward genuinely liked Mooney. He believes that others have been too severe in judging Mooney's character: "Prisoner 31921 was, without question, a difficult and demanding man. . . . But within hours after he was out he became a sweet, kindly middle-aged socialist. . . . I saw that change myself" (p. 279). Be that as it may, Prisoner 31921 was, in Fremont Older's words, "a monumental egotist," and this *persona* lasted much longer than did Mooney's better self in freedom. We cannot be certain what kind of a man Mooney would have been for the rest of his life had the jury acquitted him in 1917. A "gentle dynamiter"? The paradox is moot. Mooney's egotism was as much the stuff of his pathos as the prison-born debility that shortened his final days.

However, in the scheme of California history, the issue of Mooney's personality is secondary. What matters more is the fraud, horror, bigotry, and stonewalling perpetuated upon him, his family, his friends, and upon na-

tive radicalism and the local labor movement in the name of law and order. The memory of this affair should be kept alive, for sooner or later those who ignore the mistakes of the past grow anxious to repeat them.

I-Mary: A Biography of Mary Austin.

By Augusta Fink. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983. x, 310 pp., \$17.50.)

Reviewed by Pamela Herr, former managing editor of The American West magazine, who is writing a biography of Jessie Benton Frémont.

When writer Mary Austin visited San Francisco in the early summer of 1903, she was a blunt country woman of thirty-five, briefly escaping a loveless marriage and a mentally retarded child. Her brooding, evocative stories about the people and harsh desert landscape of southeastern California had just been published, and San Francisco's literati were eager to fete her. Austin was dazzled when poet George Sterling, whom she found "as handsome as a Roman faun," took her to Coppia's, San Francisco's famed gathering place for writers and artists. But while she feasted on sand dabs, fresh shrimp, and almond tarts, the group

secretly assessed her. They were disappointed. "She wasn't pretty," one explained, though "she was writing beautiful stuff." Such judgments haunted Mary Austin's life.

Born in Illinois in 1868, she had been a scrawny, high-strung child with a brilliant and original mind. Unloved by her mother and awkward with other children, she found solace in what she called "I-Mary," an invulnerable, aloof part of herself that communed with nature and would later become the source of her creative strength. But beneath the surface remained another Mary, needy, sensitive, longing for love.

In her absorbing and well-written biography of Mary Austin, Augusta Fink uses this split in Austin's personality to explain the central conflicts of her life. *I-Mary* is a fascinating study of a complex and, in some ways, tragic woman.

When she was twenty, Austin settled with her family in the San Joaquin Valley. There she began to write, but financial problems and a longing for ordinary love lured her into a disastrous marriage. Torn by guilt, Austin eventually left her husband and placed their daughter in a foster home. During the next years she wrote prolifically while living in Carmel, New York, and finally, Santa Fe. Her themes, Fink points out, remain startlingly relevant today: feminism, Indian culture,

Released from San Quentin in 1939, thirty years after the dynamiting for which he was charged, Tom Mooney led a parade down San Francisco's Market Street celebrating his pardon. CHS, San Francisco

concern with the environment. She was at her best, Fink suggests, in regional writing like *The Land of Journeys' Ending*, an enduring classic that captures the essence of the Southwest.

One would like to think that Austin achieved some sort of serenity as she aged. Certainly in her purple velvet dress and sturdy oxfords, lecturing to a rapt audience, she seemed an indomitable spirit, a priestess of the Southwest. But Fink tells us that Austin remained a lonely woman. Arrogant, intellectually formidable, and unable to play the charmer, she never found normal happiness. Yet her isolation freed her from the stifling social restraints endured by most women of her time. It opened her to the natural landscape and its rhythms, and to the lives of Indians and Hispanics, outsiders like herself.

Augusta Fink has chosen to write a personal rather than literary biography, focusing on Austin's life, not her writing. Backed by exhaustive research in Austin's unpublished papers, Fink tells her story with grace and clear-eyed compassion. The result is a compelling and believable portrait.

Becoming Americans: Asian Sojourners, Immigrants, and Refugees in the Western United States.

By Tricia Knoll. (Portland, Oregon: Coast to Coast Books, 1982. v, 356 pp. \$14.50, paper; \$22.50, hard.)

Reviewed by H. Brett Melendy,
Professor of History and University

Archivist, San Jose State University. Melendy is the author of *The Oriental Americans, Asians in America, "Filipinos, Koreans and Vietnamese Immigration to the United States" in Contemporary American Immigration, and numerous articles on Filipino immigrants.*

Becoming Americans is a tribute to the thousands of Asians who have crossed the Pacific Ocean for economic and political reasons. The author, a Portland, Oregon, high school teacher, conscious of the increasing number of Southeast Asian refugees in her classes, determined to recount their stories. Her book portrays in cursory fashion the several Asian immigrant groups who sought new beginnings on the Pacific Coast. The co-publishers collected and organized the excellent photographs that accompany the text. Most are pictures which have not been published before in historical studies.

In a chapter describing each immigrant group, the narrative and the photographs trace the following: Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese, Laotians, Chinese and Vietnamese boat people, and the Kampuchians (Cambodians). The author sketches the historical background of their homelands and indicates those push-pull factors which led these people to emigrate, usually at great personal risk. The story of these Asian groups, each the subject of several lengthy monographs, is in this book very brief. The recounting of the Asians' accommodations to life on the Pacific Coast only highlights major events and, unfortunately, may lead the reader in some instances to faulty interpretations. To reinforce each

chapter, a chronology is provided.

The major contribution of this book is its discussion of the Southeast Asian refugee populations who have proven to be highly fluid as they move about the United States in search of friendlier social and economic environments. Historians have not fully recorded the story of these recent arrivals and how they have accommodated to life in the United States. A brief description of the work of the United States Refugee Administration and its handling of the problems presented by Southeast Asians is used to introduce these latest immigrants. Knoll identifies two waves of Vietnamese refugees (the 1975 evacuees and the subsequent larger number of boat people), three Laotian groups (Lowland Lao, Mien, and Hmong), and the Kampuchians. The convolutions of Southeast Asia resulting from French colonialism, the involvement of the United States in the area, and the continuing internecine strife that caught up the refugees and their compatriots is reviewed. The author additionally provides a set of appendices showing census data about these people, outlining United States immigration law, and a bibliography for a beginning reader interested in learning about the Asian Americans who have made their homes in the western United States.

The well-written narrative provides a very generalized and episodic view of Asian immigration to the West Coast. It will provide a good beginning for any reader who is unacquainted with these Asian American ethnic groups. The chapters on the older and established Asian American settlers add little that is new. Their story has been covered better in other historical surveys.

California Check List

By Bruce L. Johnson,
Library Director

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

- Allen, Helena G. *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani, Last Queen of Hawaii, 1838-1917*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983. \$19.95. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Co.; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.
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- Archuleta, Kay. *The Brannan Saga*. 3rd ed. St. Helena, CA: Illuminations Press, 1982. \$8 (paper). Order from: Illuminations Press; 1451 Library Lane; Box 126; St. Helena, CA 94574.
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- California Institute of Public Affairs. *Academic Research and Public Service Centers in California: A Guide*. Claremont, CA: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1983. \$18.50. Order from: California Institute of Public Affairs; Post Office Box 10; Claremont, CA 91711.
- California Institute of Public Affairs. *Social Service Organizations in California: A Directory*. Claremont, CA: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1983. \$22.50 (tentative). Order from: California Institute of Public Affairs; Post Office Box 10; Claremont, CA 91711.
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- Colston, Stephen A., ed. *Approaches to Historical Archaeology: The Case of the Royal Presidio of San Diego*. San Diego: San Diego History Research Center, 1982. \$1.95 (paper). Order from: San Diego State University; San Diego History Research Center; San Diego, CA 92182.
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- Dekovic, Gene. *This Blessed Land [winemaking in Napa Valley]*. St. Helena, CA: Illuminations Press, 1982. \$12.95. Order from: Illuminations Press; 1451 Library Lane; Box 126; St. Helena, CA 94574.
- Demoro, Harre W. *Electric Railway Pioneer [the Northwestern Pacific Railroad]*. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1983. \$24.95. Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.
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- Livernois, Joe. *Hetzel the Photographer: Impressions of Imperial Valley*. Fresno: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1982. Order from: Joe Livernois; 461 Paradise Road; Salinas, Ca 93907.
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- San Jose Federal Court. Advisory Committee. *Federal Courts in Fabled Counties: Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, San Benito, Monterey*. San Jose: Advisory Committee, San Jose Federal Court, 1983. \$25.00. Order from: Advisory Committee, San Jose Federal Court; Union Bank Building, Suite 1000; San Jose, CA 95113.
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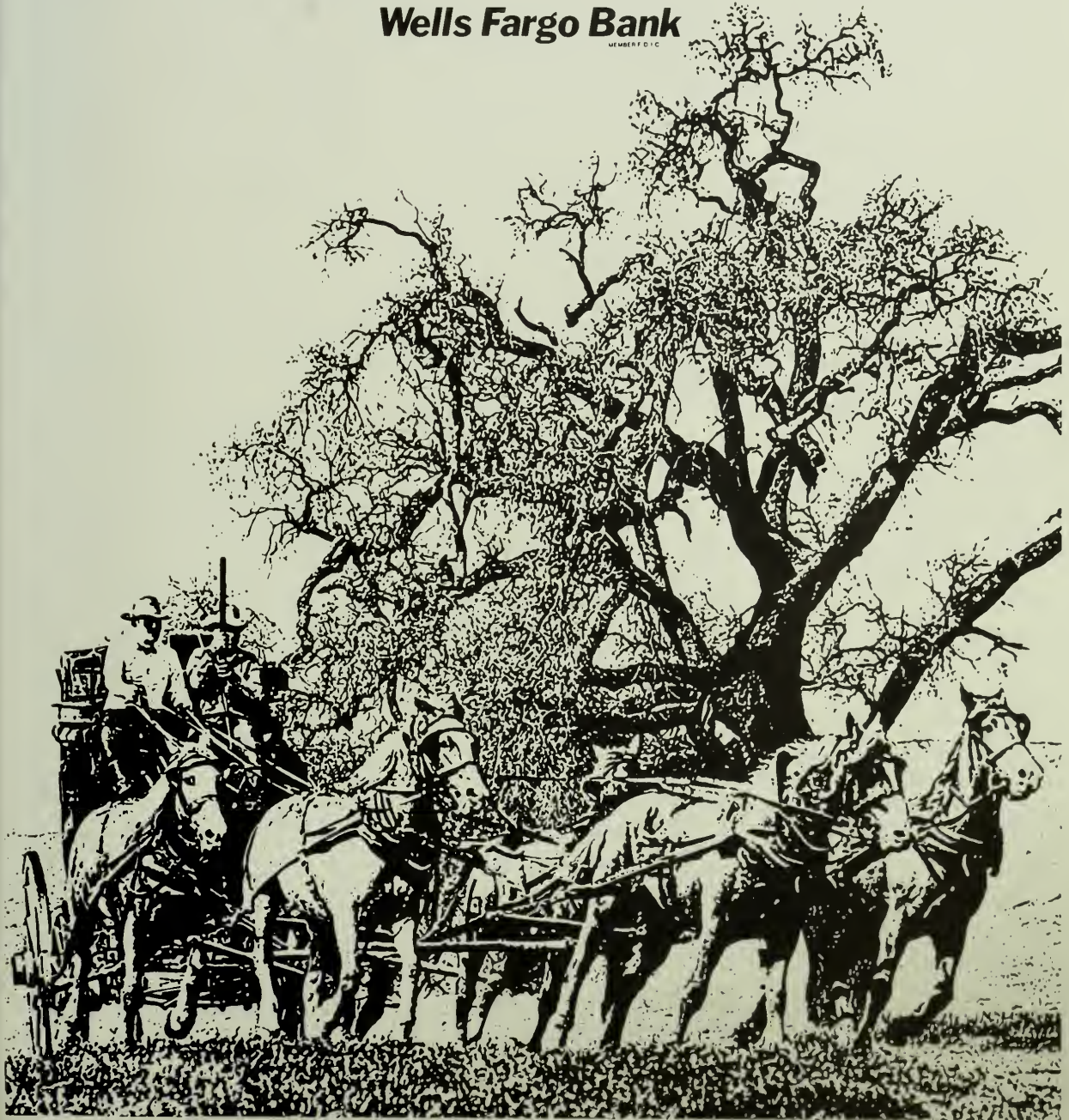
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